THE WEST BENGAL

THE

BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

PROCEEDINGS.

(Official Report.)

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GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

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C

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Chaudhuri, Babu Kishori Mohan. [Rajshahi (Non-Muhammadan).]
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F

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G

Ghatak, Rai Bahadur Nilmani. [Malda (Non-Muhammadan).]
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Ghose, Rai Bahadur Jogendra Chunder. (Calcutta University.)
Goode, Mr. S. W. (Nominated Official.)
Gupta, Mr. J. N. (Nominated Official.)

H

Haq, Maulvi A. K Fazl-ul. [Khulna (Muhammadan).]
Haq, Shah Syed Emdadul. [Tippera (Muhammadan).]
Hindley, Lt.-Col. C. D M. (Nominated Official.)
Hopkyns, Mr W. S. (Nominated Official.)
Huntingford, Mr. C T (Nominated Official.)
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Hussain, Maulvi Md. Madassur [Burdwan Division North (Muhammadan).]

J

James, Mr. R H. L Langford (Indian Jute Mills Association.)
Janah, Babu Sarat Chandra [Midnapore South (Non-Muhammadan).]

K

Karim, Maulvi Abdul [Faridpur North (Muhammadan).]
Karim, Maulvi Fazlul [Bakarganj South (Muhammadan).]
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Khan Chaudhuri, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Md Ershad Ali. [Rajshahi North (Muhammadan).]

L

Lang, Mr J. (Nominated Official.)
Larmour, Mr. F. A (Calcutta Trades Association.)
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M

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Mallik, Babu Surendra Nath. [Calcutta South (Non-Muhammadan).]

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N

Nakey, Mirza Muhammad Ali [24-Parganas Municipal South (Muhammadan).]
Nasker, Babu Hem Chandra [24-Parganas Rural Central (Non-Muhammadan).]

P

Pahlowan, Maulvi Md. Abdul Jubbar [Mymensingh West (Muhammadan).]
Pal, Rai Bahadur Radha Charan [Calcutta East (Non-Muhammadan).]
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Poddar, Babu Keshoram. (Bengal Marwari Association.)
Pugh, Colonel A. J. [Presidency and Burdwan (European).]

R

Rae, Mr. W. R. [Presidency and Burdwan (European).]
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S

Salam, Khan Bahadur Abdus. [Jessore North (Muhammadan).]
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Sarkar, Babu Rishindra Nath. [Bankura West (Non-Muhammadan).]
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Swan, Mr. J. A. L. (Nominated Official.)

T

Travers, Mr. W. L. [Rajshahi (European).]

W

Walsh, Mr. C. P. (Nominated Official.)
Wheeler, the Hon'ble Sir Henry. (Member, Executive Council.)
Wordsworth, Mr. W. C. (Nominated Official.)

THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

PROCEEDINGS.

(Official Report of the Seventh Session.)

VOLUME VII—No. 3.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act.

THE Council met in the Council Chamber in the Town Hall, Calcutta, on Monday, the 27th February, 1922, at 3 P.M.

Present.

The Deputy-President in the Chair, the Hon'ble the four Members of the Executive Council, the Hon'ble the three Ministers and 78 nominated and elected members.

Starred Question

(to which oral answer was given).

Appointment of Mr. S. K. Raha as Commissioner of Excise and Salt.

***XXI. Mr. AJOY CHUNDER DUTT:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Minister in charge of the Department of Agriculture and Industries be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Mr. S. K. Raha has been permanently appointed Excise Commissioner of Bengal?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble the Minister be pleased to state the reason for dispensing with the services of Mr. S. C. Mukerjee and appointing his subordinate in his place?

MINISTER in charge of DEPARTMENT of AGRICULTURE and INDUSTRIES (the Hon'ble the Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, Khan Bahadur): (*a*) It has been decided by Government to appoint Rai Bahadur S. K. Raha, now officiating as Commissioner of Excise and Salt, Bengal, permanently to the post.

(*b*) It is a common practice to transfer officers returning from long leave to new appointments. Mr. S. C. Mukerjee went on combined leave for 8 months and 28 days from the 27th July, 1921, and Rai Bahadur

S. K. Raha, Deputy Commissioner of Excise, in consideration of his ability and wide experience of excise work, was selected to act for him. As the post is not reserved for officers of the Indian Civil Service, it has been decided to transfer Mr. Mukerjee elsewhere in accordance with the practice and to appoint the Rai Bahadur permanently to the post.

Mr. AJOY CHUNDER DUTT: May I inquire whether this appointment was ever held before by a non-civilian?

The Hon'ble the Nawab SAIYID NAWAB ALI CHAUDHURI, Khan Bahadur: No.

Unstarred Questions

(answers to which were laid on the table).

Leave rules of the Bengal Judicial Service.

189. Maulvi AZAHARUDDIN AHMED: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Judicial Department aware that a considerable amount of doubt is entertained by the Judicial officers of the Bengal Civil Service as regards the interpretation, and effect upon them, of the Leave Rules in section IV of the Fundamental Rules published with the Government of India, Finance Department letter No. 1079-C.S.R., dated the 26th October, 1921?

(*b*) What steps are the Government taking to make the rules clear so as to enable these officers to exercise the option permitted by rule 58?

MEMBER in charge of JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Abd-ur-Rahim): (*a*) Some Judicial officers of one district have addressed Government asking for an interpretation of the rules.

(*b*) In the event of an officer being in doubt as to the effect of the rule in his particular case, it has been decided that the proper course for him to take is to refer to the Audit Officer for a ruling.

Toll privilege to Joint Steamer Companies.

190. Rai HARENDRANATH CHAUDHURI: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Department of Irrigation be pleased to refer to my unstarred question No. 64 for the meeting of the 21st November last and to lay on the table a copy of letter No. 1581, dated the 28th March, 1913, addressed by Mr. A. N. Dass, the then Executive Engineer, to the Assistant Engineer, Calcutta Canals, on the subject?

(*b*) With reference to what is stated in that letter, will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to state whether it was not a fact that the privilege was granted to the Rivers Steam Navigation and India General Steam Navigation Companies before the issue of notification No. 7 of the 15th July, 1913?

(c) Will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to state whether he is now in a position to answer part (a) (i) and (ii) of unstarred question No. 64 for the meeting of the 21st November last?

(d) Is it a fact that vessels of the said companies, although exempted from the checking of manifestoes, are as much detained as other vessels in their passage through the lock-gates?

(e) Are the Government considering the desirability of directing that at least the instruction contained in the said letter of Mr. A. N. Dass should henceforth be strictly followed?

MEMBER in charge of DEPARTMENT of IRRIGATION (the Hon'ble the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan): (a) Government is not prepared to place on the table a copy of the letter

(b) The concession to boats belonging to the India General Steam Navigation and Rivers Steam Navigation Companies was granted under notification No. 29, dated the 24th May, 1894

(c) "64(i)" No instructions were issued to check the correctness of a manifest by check-measuring a vessel.

"64(ii)" The question does not arise

(d) Vessels of the said Companies as well as other vessels are admitted as soon as the locks are opened.

(e) The answer is in the negative

Tentulia Khal in the Faridpur district.

191. Babu BHISHMADEV DAS: (a) Is the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Department of Irrigation aware

(i) of the present condition of agriculture in pargana Telihati and its neighbourhood in the district of Faridpur;

(ii) that a considerable area on both sides of the Tentulia Amukandi Khal remains under water owing to insufficient outlet and flow of water; and

(iii) that the Tentulia Khal has been blocked at its entrance into the *bil* route canal?

(b) Are the Government considering the desirability of inquiring and taking steps to improve the agricultural condition of the area?

The Hon'ble the MAHARAJADHIRAJA BAHADUR of BURDWAN: (a) (i) Yes.

(ii) Some area by the side of Tentulia Khal which cannot drain into the new Madaripur *bil* route remains still under water as it always has done. This water-logging is not due to any blocking of the mouth of the Khal which was done only for a very short time when the dredger was dredging there and was opened up as soon as the dredger completed her work there.

(iii) *Vide* the latter portion of reply to (ii) above.

(b) Not at present.

Zoological Gardens, Calcutta.

192. **Babu HEM CHANDRA BHATTACHARJI:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Minister in charge of the Department of Agriculture and Industries be pleased to state—

(*i*) in what year the Alipore Zoological gardens were opened;

(*ii*) in what year the library was attached to it;

(*iii*) in what year the laboratory was founded;

(*iv*) whether books are added every year to the library;

(*v*) if not, when the last addition was made;

(*vi*) who have access to the books in the library; and

(*vii*) who actually use these books?

(*b*) Is any record available showing the number of books issued annually?

(*c*) Is any sum budgeted annually for the working of the laboratory?

(*d*) Is any record available of the nature and amount of work done therein, year by year?

(*e*) If so, are the Government considering the desirability of laying on the table a list of such works in chronological order?

(*f*) Will the Hon'ble the Minister be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the qualifications of the members of the Governing Body of the gardens especially with reference to Zoology and other kindred subjects?

(*g*) On what principle is the selection of the members of the Governing Body made?

(*h*) Are the Government considering the desirability of associating scientific Indians with the work of management?

(*i*) Will the Hon'ble the Minister be pleased to state whether the present Superintendent and the Assistant Superintendent are qualified veterinary surgeons?

(*j*) If so, will the Hon'ble the Minister be pleased to lay on the table a list of research work undertaken by each of these officers during the period of their service in the gardens?

(*k*) Are *post mortem* records available to the public or for publication dating from the time the present incumbents have been holding charges?

(*l*) Are the Government considering the desirability of publishing from time to time, annals of *post mortem* and other findings about animals?

(*m*) Are the Government proposing to utilize the gardens for educational purposes in any suitable manner?

(*n*) If so, will the Hon'ble the Minister be pleased to lay on the table rough estimates of costs necessary to put into operation any two schemes that would be least expensive?

(*o*) Are the Government considering the desirability of compiling every year all events of scientific interest in matters connected with the gardens?

The Hon'ble the Nawab SAIYID NAWAB ALI CHAUDHURI, Khan Bahadur: (*a*) (*i*) In the year 1876

(*ii*) In the year 1893.

(*iii*) In the year 1892

(*iv*) No.

(*v*) In November, 1921

(*vi*) and (*vii*) Members of the Committee of Management and the Garden Staff

(*b*) No, as the books are not as a rule taken away from the Library

(*c*) No.

(*d*) and (*e*) A note on the work done in the laboratory is laid on the table.

(*f*), (*g*) and (*h*) The Committee is an administrative body and scientific qualifications are not considered essential for membership All the members are appointed on account of their interest in Zoology in general and in these gardens in particular, and many because of special knowledge which they bring to assist in the general management of the gardens A list of the members of the Committee is laid on the table

(*i*) The Superintendent is a qualified veterinary surgeon

(*j*) These officers are fully occupied with their administrative duties and they are not expected nor have they the time to undertake research work.

(*k*) and (*l*) Results of the *post mortem* examinations are incorporated in the annual reports of the gardens which are available to the public

(*m*) Facilities already exist for utilising the gardens for educational purposes Advantage of the *post mortem* examinations conducted at the Bengal Veterinary College of the carcases of animals sent from the gardens is taken for instructional purposes Carcases of animals and birds are also supplied to the School of Tropical Medicine, for research.

(*n*) No other scheme for utilizing the gardens for educational purposes is under consideration

(*o*) No, as this would mean employment of additional staff, involving extra cost.

Notes on the Laboratory referred to in the reply to clauses (d) and (e) of unstarred question No. 192.

In the year 1894-95 Dr D D Cunningham carried on experiments on the action of various alleged remedies for the effect of snake bites

In the year 1895-96, Dr D D Cunningham carried on experiments on the action of various reputed antidotes to snake venom

In the year 1899, Major Waddell and Rai R. B. Sanyal Bahadur carried on research work in connection with antidotes against snake poison. (Report not available.)

In the year 1900, Rai R. B. Sanyal Bahadur carried on research in connection with antidotes against snake-poison. (Report not available.)

In the year 1902, Colonel Leonard Rogers carried on experiments on the permanganate treatment for snake bites. (Report not available.)

As there was no equipment in our Laboratory, special research works were carried on, from time to time, by the following gentlemen in their own Laboratory.

In 1912-13, Mr. F. Southwell, A.R.C.S., F.Z.S., etc., carried on research work on parasites, etc., in the Indian Museum Laboratory, with the carcases supplied from this garden.

In the year 1914, Professor Fox and Mr. Chambers of Australia carried on experiments on snake venom antidotes in the Garden Laboratory with their own apparatus.

In the years 1915-16 and 1916-17, Lieutenant-Colonel Clayton Lane, I.M.S., carried on research works on the parasites obtained during *post mortem* examination and sent to him.

In the year 1918-19, Dr. W. D. Sutherland, I.M.S., Imperial Serologist, Medical College, Calcutta, carried on research works on blood of different kinds of animals.

In the year 1919, Captain R. B. S. Sewell, I.M.S., carried on research work on parasites, the materials being supplied from the Garden.

Members of the Committee of Management of the Zoological Gardens referred to in the reply to clauses (f), (g) and (h) of unstarred question No. 192.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice P. L. Buckland, F.Z.S. (President).

W. K. Dods, Esq. (Honorary Secretary).

R. D. Mehta, Esq., C.I.E.

Ihtisham ul Mulk Rais ud-Daula Amir-ul-Umara Nawab Sir Asif Qadr Sayyid Wasit Ali Mirza Khan Bahadur, Mahabat Jang, Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.

Surendranath Laha, Esq.

The Hon'ble Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.O.M., Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan.

David, Ezra, Esq.

Nawab A. F. M. Abdur Rahman Khan Bahadur.

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The Commissioner of the Presidency Division
The Executive Engineer, Second Calcutta Division
The Director of Public Health with the Government of Bengal
The President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal
The Natural History Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
The Director of Land Records
The Superintendent, Civil Veterinary Department, Bengal
The Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Zoology, Medical College, Bengal
The Superintendent of the Royal Botanic Garden, Sibpur
The Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation
The Principal of the Veterinary College, Calcutta

Withdrawal of Village Self-Government Act from Tippera.

193. SHAH SYED EMDADUL HAQ: Will the Hon'ble the Minister in charge of the Department of Local Self-Government be pleased to state whether it is proposed to withdraw the Bengal Village Self-Government Act from the Tippera district at an early date?

MINISTER in charge of DEPARTMENT of LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea): The answer is in the negative.

"Char" lands in Bakarganj.

194. Maulvi FAZLAL KARIM: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Department of Revenue (Land Revenue) be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the number and area of the unsettled culturable *chars* in each subdivision of the district of Bakarganj?

(*b*) Is it a fact that the lands of the *chars* are settled with *bonâ fide* agriculturists who are to live there with their families?

(*c*) Are the Government considering the desirability of settling *char* lands with middle class unemployed men?

MEMBER in charge of DEPARTMENT of REVENUE (LAND REVENUE) (the Hon'ble the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan): (*a*) A statement is laid on the table giving the particulars required.

(*b*) Yes, *char* lands are ordinarily settled with *bonâ fide* agriculturists who are required to live there with their families.

(*c*) Government have already considered the question. Rule 136A of the Bengal Government Estates Manual, 1919, states the conditions on which settlement may be made with *bhadralok* cultivators. In 1920, an area of 330 acres in estate Char Fasson, within the Bhola Subdivision, was settled with such cultivators.

Statement showing the number and area of unsettled culturable chars in the district of Bakarganj, referred to in the reply to clause (a) of unstarred question No. 194.

Serial number.	Number and name of estate	Unsettled culturable area in acres.
	Sadar Subdivision	
1	6568, Char Buller	500·00
2	6789, .. Monia	11·20
	Bhola Subdivision	
1	6487, Char Chandra Prasad	250·00
2	4591, .. Bhaduria Part III	500·00*
3.	5304, .. Sakurbira ...	200·00
4	5256, .. Nilkamal . ..	100·00*
	Patuakhali Subdivision	
1	6624, Char Monoral ..	132·13
2	6484, Porirchar .	925·50
3.	6549, Char Gharua	572·89

* Approximate.

District Magistrate, Pabna, visiting Salanga Hât.

195. Sir ASUTOSH CHAUDHURI: Will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Political Department be pleased to state the reason why the District Magistrate of Pabna visited the Salanga Hât on the 27th January last accompanied by the Superintendent of Police, Deputy Superintendent of Police and a posse of armed policemen?

MEMBER in charge of POLITICAL DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler): As a result of several occurrences in the month of January last in the course of which police officers were badly obstructed and assaulted in the discharge of their duty, the local officers decided on the 24th January that it was advisable to have a route march by a posse of armed police through the turbulent part of the Sirajganj subdivision. It was in pursuance of this decision that the District Magistrate of Pabna and the other officers mentioned visited the Salanga Hât on the 27th January.

Non-co-operation movement in Tippera.

196. SHAH SYED EMDADUL HAQ: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Political Department be pleased to describe the present state of the non-co-operation movement in the district of

Tippera and especially at Mahini and other adjoining villages in the police-station Chauddagram in the same district?

(*b*) Is it fact that members of the same union boards, chaukidars, daffadars, etc., are resigning their offices in the district of Tippera?

(*c*) Is it a fact that owing to the strictness in realizing chaukidari dues troubles are brewing there?

(*d*) Is it a fact that chaukidars and daffadars are being assaulted there, but they do not venture to lodge formal complaints and that owing to the absence of formal complaints no notice is being taken by the authorities in the matter?

(*e*) Is it a fact that representations regarding the above allegations were made to the authorities by some of the leading co-operators of the district?

(*f*) If so, will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to state what action, if any, has been taken on those representations?

The Hon'ble Sir HENRY WHEELER: (*a*) The preaching of non-co-operation in Tippera has led to various acts of lawlessness and to a refusal to pay chaukidari tax and in some cases rent, and to constant harassment of the rural police. In Mahini and adjoining villages in the police-station Chauddagram, there have been several instances recently of obstruction to the police in the execution of their duty. The police have been prevented from entering villages for the execution of warrants or for the investigation of complaint cases.

(*b*) Some resignations have been reported.

(*c*) There is an inclination to refuse to pay chaukidari tax, but this has nothing to do with any action taken to realise it.

(*d*) Some cases of assault have been reported. In Tippera, as elsewhere, the general intimidation practised by the non-co-operators has the effect of preventing injured persons from seeking redress. The district authorities are taking all possible measures to protect the chaukidars.

(*e*) and (*f*) Government have no information.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT (Babu Surendra Nath Ray): Gentlemen, a ballot for some further resolutions of which notice has been given will be held in the Committee Room at 11 A.M. to-morrow.

Under section 89 (*b*) (rule 28 of the rules and standing orders), I hereby prescribe a time-limit of 15 minutes for all members other than the Members of the Executive Council and Ministers in charge of heads of budget.

Discussion of the Budget.

Professor S. C. MUKHERJI: Three important statements have been made in this Council setting forth the financial position of Bengal. The first is the most illuminating speech made by His Excellency the Governor on the 21st November last. In that speech His Excellency

after going over the whole ground gave us an idea that the prospective deficit for the next financial year would be Rs. 76½ lakhs. The second is the first speech made by the Hon'ble the Finance Member on the 19th January when introducing the three taxation Bills. In that speech he stated "that the situation with which they were faced was that they had to deal with an irreducible minimum deficit for 1922-23 of at least Rs 90 lakhs." "This deficit," he said "had been arrived at after cutting down expenditure to bedrock limits in such a way as gravely to hamper the efficiency of the administration." The third is the second speech made by the Hon'ble the Finance Member when he introduced the budget in which he gave us his final figure of a net deficit of Rs. 120 lakhs.

The "Reform" administration was started with a huge deficit of over two crores. The situation was saved by having recourse to accumulated balances of previous years. We foresaw at that time that unless financial relief of a very substantial character had come from the Central Government in view of the iniquitous award of the Meston Committee coupled with retrenchment of a drastic nature introduced in the present administrative machinery which was ruinously costly and which it was impossible for the people suffering from grinding poverty to bear, we would again be faced with another huge deficit and that taxation would be the inevitable sequence. To put off the evil day verbal assurances were given at that time that there was no reasonable apprehension for thinking that recourse would be had to fresh taxation to meet the current expenditure of the administration. In fact the Hon'ble Minister of Education committed himself in that way. In the course of his last Budget speech he said:

> It will not be right to tax Bengal when the people will not be getting any advantage from that taxation. The deficit in the Budget is due to the limitations imposed upon us by the Government of India. I feel it will not be right to impose any fresh taxation for carrying on the ordinary administration of the reserved and transferred departments. If in future we improve education or sanitation it will be quite open to us to come forward with schemes for fresh taxation. But to tax Bengal for the purpose of making up the deficit, for which Bengal is not responsible, to my mind would be unjust.

He was rather premature in his observations or perhaps a bit too sanguine about relief coming from the Imperial Government. All anticipations in that direction have been falsified and all our hopes ruthlessly shattered.

The inevitable has come. An incomplete and a deficit budget has been presented by the Hon'ble the Finance Member and he is anxiously waiting for the taxation Bills to be passed to save the administration from a complete deadlock. Taxation is necessary to meet the present deficit for carrying on the administration. The very passage which was quoted by the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr from the speech of His Excellency the Governor when he introduced the finance measures makes it perfectly clear.

I must admit Government have made a most strenuous effort in the direction of retrenchment—though I am not prepared to admit that every region has been explored and every possibility exhausted. But after all it is a process of tinkering.

Every effort is being made to undo the Meston award unjust, inequitable, positively iniquitous. A zeal which is most commendable is being shown to nullify the award, and I pray most earnestly that all efforts in this direction may be crowned with success.

But is there any serious effort being made to grapple with the present huge ruinously costly administration? There was a time when one Lieutenant-Governor with the help of a small executive machinery could administer the affairs of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Now for one province of Bengal we are saddled with a Governor and seven people with a huge paraphernalia of Secretaries, Under-Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries. We go on glibly increasing and increasing the administrative machinery in every department till the whole thing assumes such huge proportions that the burden becomes simply intolerable. All our calculations are based on space and number—on the area of square miles and the numerical strength of the population included in such areas. Seldom do we take into account the economic condition of the people and their earning and taxable capacities.

Our misfortune is we are the victims of a rotten and effete system. Our misfortune is we are ruled by mediocrity. What is needed to-day is a prophetic vision, a powerful imagination, a constructive, rather reconstructive, statesmanship and a living, human sympathy. For this you need men of master minds—men like Burke and Pitt and Gladstone—men who have shed an immortal lustre over the fair name of England—men endowed with inspiration from on high to infuse life into dead bones! Now to come back to the tinkering process alluded to above. I fully admit an honest effort has been made in the direction of curtailment, but every possibility does not seem to have been exhausted. I venture to make a few suggestions.

All exodus to the hills must be abandoned, or at least suspended, with the only exception of His Excellency the Governor and his personal staff. All hill allowances should be stopped. No committee meetings ought to be held in the hills. All double first class travelling allowance should be reduced to double second class. I need hardly say I include here the travelling allowance paid to the members of the Legislative Council. Those who feel ashamed or think it derogatory to their dignity to travel second class are quite welcome to travel first class at their own expense. The salaries of the Hon'ble Ministers ought to be reduced. I know the Hon'ble Ministers get awfully irritated at this suggestion. But the exigency of the situation demands such a reduction. It is a fair, honest and legitimate demand and we ought to go on pressing it till we get it. It was only the other day I saw in the papers that the Ministers of Local

Self-Government in Bihar and Orissa suggested that the Ministry of Local Self-Government should be honorary. It gave me a unique pleasure to think that an Indian Christian was leading the way in this matter in that Province. The Police expenditure must be reduced. It is preposterous that one-fifth of the revenue should go towards the maintenance of the Police. Last year the proportion was one-sixth—this year it is one-fifth. This is a sad commentary on the administration of a province. All educational institutions are starving. The premier University in India is bankrupt. That magnificent institution, the University College of Science is grievously suffering from lack of funds. The special officer for Primary Education is ready with his schemes but cannot budge an inch for want of money. The Minister of Local Self-Government is ready with his anti-malarial scheme, but there is not a *cowrie* in the coffers of the Government to help him. There is no money for any agricultural or commercial development. The most tragic spectacle in this Council is the sight of the three Hon'ble Ministers entrusted with most responsible portfolios but provided with no funds! Yet we must go on pampering this over-pampered Police

I have made only a few suggestions. I am sure further suggestions will be made by the other members of this Council.

The Hon'ble the Finance Member said in the course of his Budget speech: "the Budget now presented is not a production of which any one can feel proud." But there is one item in the Budget of which I myself feel proud and I am sure every right-thinking person in this Council will feel proud - I mean the fall in the Excise revenue. There has been a fall of about Rs. 23 lakhs. I wish there were a much bigger fall. Any civilised Government ought to be ashamed of this head of revenue. I repeat what I said in my previous speech in connection with this subject - -

> Our ultimate goal is total prohibition and we are praying for the day when the whole of the excise revenue will be blotted out of our provincial budget. . . . . The working out of such an ideal will perhaps pave the way for taxation in certain other directions We would far rather see that that is done than to be a party to a revenue which is derived at the expense of the physical deterioration, the intellectual stagnation and the moral ruination of a people.

I am sincerely sorry that the Minister of Excise is expecting a slight increase next year in Excise revenue. I hope his anticipations will be utterly falsified. I am anxiously looking forward to the day when the Hon'ble the Minister of Excise will appoint a Committee to investigate the question of local option. In a demi-official note addressed to me from Darjeeling on the 8th of October, 1921, by Mr. S. K. Raha, the present Commissioner of Excise, the following passage occurred—

> As regards the first portion of your resolution the Hon'ble Minister in charge is favourably inclined towards local option and a Committee will very likely be formed in January or February next to investigate the question. Along with this, the question of increasing the powers and changing the constitution of the Excise Licensing Boards of Calcutta and the formation of similar Licensing Boards for other important cities in the Presidency will be considered.

I have quoted this passage simply to draw the attention of the Hon'ble the Minister of Excise.

I pass on to Education. Even in this deficit Budget, the Hon'ble the Minister of Education has found it possible to provide the Dacca University with Rs. 9 lakhs. What has he done for the Calcutta University? He has provided the magnificent sum of Rs. 13,000 for the supervision charges of the messes under the control of the University over and above the recurring grant of Rs. 1,28,000 which the University has been receiving for the last few years. I understand that the Calcutta University must wait for the supplementary grant. Why not the Dacca University, may I ask? Why is this differential, rather preferential, treatment of the two Universities? I do not grudge in the least the Rs. 9 lakhs given to the Dacca University. I was in Dacca a few months ago and the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor took me round and showed me the magnificent work done by that University. I am glad Rs. 9 lakhs has been provided for that University. But I certainly do grudge any differential treatment. The attitude of the Hon'ble Minister of Education towards the Calcutta University is indifferent and unsympathetic. In his last speech the Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter said, "but I will promise this, that I shall try to do my best for the Calcutta University, for after all it is my *alma mater*. I wonder what the Hon'ble the Education Minister has done for his *alma mater*. He has not moved his little finger as yet to help that institution. The Calcutta University needs, I understand, about Rs. 10 lakhs! It has a deficit to meet of Rs. 5,39,000. It needs money to carry on the splendid work it is doing. I know there is a clash between the Calcutta University and this Legislative Council, but I am sure a reasonable attitude will be taken up by either side. It is most unfortunate that there should be any collision between the University and the Council, and it is highly desirable that each body should treat the other with that respect that each deserves.

A few days ago I saw a letter addressed to the public press by Sir P. C. Roy. In that letter Sir Profulla gives a graphic description of the great work that is being done by a noble band of workers whose zeal and devotion in the cause of science and humanity ought to command the admiration of the whole world. And yet this institution is struggling for mere existence. During the last nine years it has received Rs. 1,08,000 from the Public Funds on an average of Rs. 12,000 a year, a magnificent sum indeed! "It would be nothing short of national disaster," says Sir Profulla, "if the Hon'ble Minister of Education were to turn a deaf ear to the piteous appeals of the Vice-Chancellor, for a substantial grant towards the upkeep of the University College of Science."

At this stage, the member having reached the time-limit had to conclude his remarks.

Rai MAHENDRA CHANDRA MITRA Bahadur: The second Budget of the reformed era has brought us no hope. To me this has been a great disappointment. Unfortunately we are again to confess that those who

are responsible to make proper adjustment of accounts and for preparing the Budget and also those who are to spend public revenue to carry on and keep in proper or, say, dignified, efficiency the administration of the country seem to be following a policy of despair—a sifting and shuffling policy, if I be permitted to express it in that way. With us, who have been privileged to talk about the Government's policy and method of adjustments and expenditure of the country's revenue, it is a cry of despair, and the tax-payers and the masses, whom we are here to represent are in a mood of disgust. In fact, the financial situation of Bengal is one which has nothing to recommend and needs immediate ending or mending. To be expressive the final exhaustion of our presidency has been more than we ever apprehended. A sane and bold policy of all-round retrenchment and creation of new sources of revenue by developing Agricultural, Arts, Industry, Irrigation and Forest resources of the country was expected from both the sections—limbs—of the dyarchy. I am again to confess that we have here met with a dismal disappointment. Our outlook of the financial situation and our way of putting things, being rather different from the official one, is often liable to misunderstanding. Those who are responsible for framing the Budget have practically dictated conclusions to us beforehand and no amount of talk in this Council is likely to persuade them to believe that we are in this Council to assert the rights of the taxpayers— the free electors of the country. Perhaps, the Government is still of the opinion that we must come to them as suppliants and not as equals or critics. This is the whole situation.

It is repeated oftener than necessary, that the financial settlement made by the Meston Committee under the Reform Scheme " has hard hit " Bengal. This Presidency had to begin its new career of reformed Government at great disadvantage. We feel we have been treated very unfairly by the Meston Committee, which, however, laid down the " fine dictum " that " there was an obligation to leave each Province with a reasonable working surplus, " so that " in no case may a contribution be such as would force the Province to embark on new taxation, which to our mind would be an unthinkable sequel to a purely administrative rearrangement of abundant general resources." Now the question is did Bengal administration launch upon its new career of reform, with a reasonable working surplus? Unfortunately the answer is in the negative. I am tempted to make a brief comparison of figures. I have it from a statement made by Hon'ble Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Member of Finance, Government of India, that Bombay began the Reforms with a surplus of Rs. 2 crores and 42 lakhs, Madras Rs. 2 crores and 41 lakhs, United Provinces Rs. 2 crores and 17 lakhs, Punjab Rs. 1 crore and 90 lakhs and Burma Rs. 2 crores and 26 lakhs. But my poor Presidency began the Reforms with a deficit of over Rs. 2 crores. These are old facts and we all know it. Last year we had to depend on previous unspent balances and it is hardly necessary to say with what result. We were

in for a financial readjustment and revision of [illegible] by the Meston Committee. We approached the Government of India for financial help and reconsideration of our position; but we achieved very poor result. We adopted the alternative and have had recourse to fresh and additional taxation. But will that improve our position? We are decidedly of opinion that if things are allowed to go in its present condition the result will be a heavier deficit year after year.

Circumstanced as we are now, it is not only a question of vanishing balances and prospective deficit but one of financial exhaustion and final crash.

Let it be clearly understood that the embarrassing reality in the financial position of Bengal cannot be got over by any makeshift arrangement. A top-heavy administration and without a practical programme of work for the development of the resources of the country, which only can bring in additional revenue, will never be able to disentangle itself from a financially embarrassing position. I have repeatedly urged that the Reforms must be worked by re-forming our own house and by effecting retrenchments. A policy of hesitancy will be of small avail.

But now to a few details.

Under Excise there has been an increase under the head Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors. The budgeted estimate in 1921-22 was Rs. 2,20,000, but the estimates shew an increase by Rs. 1,46,900. This item of increase in expenditure goes directly against the policy of careful expenditure. Similarly in 6 (*d*), we find there has been an increase by Rs. 31,020. This is no proof of willingness for retrenchment.

Provision has been made for Ministers' salary at the rate of Rs. 5,333 per month. The Council will object to it. There has been good deal of discussion on the subject and in the coming official year, I would like to see the Hon'ble Ministers rise above financial considerations and abide by the wishes of the people in the matter of their pay. We would prefer that the Council be not asked to impose its will upon the Ministers. The dignity of the Ministers' position requires them to recognise the voice of the people and make sacrifice in public interest.

The expenditure on the pleadership examination should not be allowed to be a charge on the public revenue. It has to be disallowed.

Scant justice has been done to *ministerial* officers. Government has totally ignored the recommendation of the Council and very poor provision has been made in the Budget. Assuredly this will create dissatisfaction and discontent among the large number of ministerial officers who fully deserved better consideration; and to add insult to injury they will be allowed nominal increase of pay not from April, 1921, but from April 1922. What an irony of fate!

Under Registration the budgeted figure for 1921-22 under temporary establishments was Rs. 1,86,900; but now it appears to have been

Rs. 2,20,000. Travelling allowances were shown to be Rs. 19,800 and this was also increased to Rs. 28,900. Details justifying these increases are not forthcoming and that is to be regretted. The department has got inspectors. It may seem a puzzle to many, why district sub-registrars are also required to go out for inspection of rural sub-registry offices. In the last Budget, there was an inadequate amount of provision of only Rs. 75,000 for revision of pay of sub-registrars. Curiously enough the Budget for 1922-23 has made no provision of the kind and there will be a keen disappointment among the sub-registrars all over Bengal. The Hon'ble Minister, Mr. P. C. Mitter, observed on the 15th March, 1921 (pages 116-117, Legislative Council Proceedings, Volume I—No. 5)—

By far the most important item of new expenditure is Rs. 75,000 on account of the revision of pay of sub-registrars. the pay and prospects of other services have been improved, but no re-adjustment has yet been made in the case of sub-registrars to enable them to meet the increased cost of living . . . .

I confidently hope that the Hon'ble Minister in charge will be pleased to tell us when and how he is going to improve the pay and prospects of the sub-registrars. Their claim to recognition and fair treatment in the matter of pay can no longer be ignored.

It has to be admitted that Bengal is woefully behind other provinces in the matter of irrigation works. Irrigation works properly designed and executed have never proved unproductive, but always proved helpful to raiyats and agriculturists. I am afraid I shall not be allowed to say more on this point owing to the time-limit.

I am strongly of opinion that law and order should be preserved, and what is more I am an ardent advocate of the policy of preserving law and order. I go further and say that the Executive, Judicial and Police branches of the public service, are the most essential limbs of the administration and law, so to say, should always be kept in efficiency—nay in dignified efficiency, but I do not find any justification for not entering an emphatic protest against limitless expenditure on the basis of the theory of law and order. To be explicit, it is evident that the growing expenditure on Police is exceeding all reasonable proportion. The following figures will speak for itself.

The actuals for 1920-21 did not exceed Rs. 1,65,47,145. The Budget estimate for 1922-23 shows the amount Rs. 1,89,87,000. The actual for 1920-21 for Presidency Police did not exceed Rs. 28,57,530. Of the budgeted amount of Rs. 32,91,000 for Presidency Police the Calcutta Police takes Rs. 27,22,000. The Calcutta Police force has 54 inspectors, 103 sub-inspectors, 141 sergeants, who draw about the same salary as the Indian sub-inspectors, 452 assistant sub-inspectors and head constables, 3,474 constables, etc.

Then again, the estimated expenditure in 1922-23 on works in progress for the Police will come up to Rs. 4,79,000.

Owing to the revision of the pay of constables the expenditure on account of their pay during the current year is likely to exceed the sanctioned allotment by about Rs. 5,00,000.

This increment which was long overdue was sanctioned in the year 1920, and yet it was not shown in the last Budget. We have the right to know the reason why. The Hon'ble Member for Finance tells us that the only noticeable item in the revised estimates for 1921-22 is an additional provision of Rs. 2,54,000 on account of extra police arrangements to meet the present political situation and besides, a provision of about Rs. 1,00,000 has also been made on account of increased permanent force. And all this has been done while the Police Retrenchment Committee is still engaged in dealing with the cost of Police administration. Surely, the situation is more than instructive.

Illiteracy of the masses ought not to continue for all time to come. It requires earnest and systematic efforts, initiativeness and fund to remove this illiteracy and we are lacking in all these. It can be stated however that the Hon'ble Minister for Education is trying his best to help the people who are illiterate.

The recommendations of Wordsworth Committee have not been provided in the Budget. This is a retrograde movement.

The provision of Rs. 21,000 made in the Budget for the appointment of a Director of Fisheries for Bengal should be disallowed. The past achievements of the department is almost *nil*, and the appointment of a Director on a high salary will be a mere waste of public revenue. I believe we have already got more than one Superintendent of Fisheries and they are enough for the Department. It will be appropriate and advantageous both from financial and other points of view that the Director of Agriculture be also vested with power of directing and supervising the work of the Fisheries Department. In many countries of the world the Department of Fisheries is only a branch of the Agricultural Department, and is worked under the direction of the head of the latter department. I do not know why a departure from this sound policy has been made in this country.

Rai LALIT MOHAN SINCH ROY Bahadur: I congratulate the Hon'ble the Finance Member for the drawing up of the Budget with skill and tact. In an ordinary year, we have had nothing to say, but as this is the second year that we are met with a huge deficit, it is high time for us to offer some suggestion and remarks only to guide the administration properly and thus to ensure the success of the Reforms. From the estimated figures it appears that in the next year our deficit will amount to Rs. 120 lakhs; to meet this deficit it is proposed to raise about Rs. 140 lakhs by new taxation, and admitting that the new taxation Bills be safely passed, then there may be a surplus of Rs. 20 lakhs

in the next year's Budget. The estimated closing balance of this year is Rs. 63½ lakhs or in round number Rs. 60 lakhs. Therefore, the adverse balance for 1922-23 will stand at Rs. 60 lakhs provided we spend up the whole balance in hand. This fact is sufficient for my friends here in the Council to tell that without further taxation, even the general administration of the province will be stranded.

My next argument is that to ask money from the people and to pay them nothing in return by way of services is imprudent. The Budget, as it has been frankly admitted by the Hon'ble Member, contains no constructive programme for the general welfare of the country. The extra charges will be required only to meet the ordinary expenses of administration. Of the Rs. 10 crores for expenditure in the ensuing year's Budget, 60 per cent., I believe, is really "irreducible minimum" as I beg to remind the House that under the Government of India Act 72D—"Salaries and pensions of persons appointed by Secretary of State with the approval of His Majesty, salaries of the judges of the High Court and of the Advocate-General" are beyond the control of this House. Moreover, I quite agree with the Hon'ble Member that in regard to their appointments, we are under some pledges, which we cannot thoughtlessly violate. But to return to my arguments I must say that we should approach the people with a constructive programme first and then we can ask them to pay something more for the services they will receive. My point is very clear. They have been paying for the cost of the general administration, to ask them to pay more is impolitic, but to ask them to pay more for the services they will receive is statesmanlike. I therefore propose not to draw upon the balances any more to meet the ordinary charges. Last year in my note to the Budget discussion I suggested to spend the balance in hand in improving the sanitary conditions of the province. This year also I repeat the same thing and if we do it we shall be able to present the province with a constructive programme. Then we shall be morally justified to approach them with the question of further taxation. Perhaps they will have no grounds to murmur. The estimated cost receipts from the new taxation is about Rs. 140 lakhs. The estimated deficit of the ensuing year's budget is Rs. 120 lakhs. Making room for untoward events, it is expected that the revenue will exactly cover the expenditure, even if there be no surplus.

Here I may be tempted with a happy picture of concessions from the Central Government, but I cannot believe in this illusion as I did not in the last year. That Government cannot do anything more for us than already promised. All that we can hope is the perpetual surrender of our contribution. It is safe therefore, to build up our expectations and calculations on this somewhat sound basis than to frame notions on the future hopes which are like building castles in the air.

Retrenchment, as I have shown, is impossible in 60 per cent. cases. But I do not believe that retrenchment is impossible, and the figures arrived at on the expenditure side are really "irreducible." I fully advocate the expenses that will be necessary for the departments like Jail, Justice and Police, which preserve the primary rights of citizens, a little luxury even if there be found can be tolerated. But I am extremely opposed to show any clemency to other departments, the curtailment of expenditure of which has become urgently necessary. The Public Works Department, like the prodigal son, are spending money without any consideration. Last year, in my note to the budget discussion I wanted to draw the attention of the members of this House to this huge expenditure and advocated drastic retrenchment. Similarly, I think the sum provided for in the next year's Budget for survey and settlement operations is too high. A sum for the realisation of dues can be given to this department and not more. In this remark, I beg to remind the House that though there is the apparent increase in the totals in the departments like Education, Medical and Public Health, the real distribution of money for measures to improve the moral and material conditions of the people has suffered retrenchment, as the figures for 1922-23 have been based on those of the revised estimate of this year. The figures of these departments can be put to the original budgeted figures of 1921-22, if some curtailments be made in the expenditure of the Department of Agriculture and Industries which is making unnecessary heavy claims upon the national funds. The savings which will accrue from the curtailment of expenditure in the Civil Works Estimates and in suspending survey and settlement operations excepting those which are absolutely necessary for the realisation of dues, might be kept apart as the probable savings or the balance in hand for the next year, to enable us to continue the operations which we will begin this year with the amount which we have now in hand.

Thus I conclude, that the adverse balance of Rs. 60 lakhs for the next year must be met with not falling upon the balance in hand, but from retrenchment of similar amount to be effected from the departments like the Public Works, Survey and Settlement, Registration and others; I quite agree with the Hon'ble Member that the probable revenue to be derived from the new taxation must be left out of account for the present. In our supplementary budget, which we will have before us, after the passing of the taxation Bills, we will make provisions for the sanitary improvements of this province. The estimated revenue from this source is about Rs. 140 lakhs. Making room for untoward events, it can safely be put at Rs. 120 lakhs. Out of this sum, provisions for a fall in revenues from other departments and capital expenditure for Irrigation can be made simultaneously with provisions for sanitary improvements and for a balance in the next year. However, this can be best discussed at the time of the supplementary budget. I want to draw the attention of the House to the fact that we shall no more live upon our balances

and a retrenchment to the amount of Rs. 50 lakhs ought to be made to make both sides equal.

Rai NIBARAN CHANDRA DAS GUPTA Bahadur: In all conscience it is a melancholy business to discuss the budget estimates for the year 1922-23, which are admittedly as yet "incomplete." The Hon'ble Finance Member, with his characteristic fairness and frankness, told us that the present budget was not a "production of which any one could be proud," further, that it does not profess to do more than provide for the bare needs of the administration and makes no provision for "new schemes." It is admittedly a deficit Budget.

All this was anticipated; and with a view to prevent a deadlock in the administration, this Council agreed to the introduction of the three taxation Bills, which have just emerged from the Select Committees, in more acceptable and presentable shapes, though against the well-known maxim of sound Political Economy with regard to taxation.

I mean the maxim that no additional burden should be thrown upon the taxpayer, to meet the ordinary purposes of administration. But, Sir, I do not share the robust optimism of the Hon'ble the Finance Member, when he said in the course of his speech in introducing the Budget, that there were good grounds to hope that this was the last of the deficit Budgets. I wish it were so. Though an optimist by nature, I cannot, for the life of me, discover, after carefully scrutinising the facts and figures disclosed in the Budget, any trace of a single item, upon which the sturdy and inspiring optimism of the Hon'ble Member could be based.

However, we may deplore over the unjust and inequitable adjustments of the Meston Committee and whatever agitation we may get up to secure a more equitable readjustment, I am not prepared to share the hopefulness of some of our Members and Ministers, in thinking that the wrong done to us will be righted within a reasonable distance of time. All the provinces are up in arms against us, and provincial jealousies have been roused, by the beggarly dole of Rs. 63 lakhs to us. I expect no relief from that quarter. We have to put our own house in order, by cutting the cost according to our own cloth.

To convert an adversity budget into a prosperity one, either of the two things is essentially necessary, *i.e.*, either we must reduce our expenditure by ruthless retrenchments, to bed-rock limits or increase our revenue by developing intensively the resources of our province; with regard to the latter alternative, we know that it means time and more investments, which we can ill-afford to spare at the present moment.

As for retrenchments, I am not at all prepared to accept the *ipse dixit* of the Hon'ble Member, who said that he had to frame his proposals in a spirit of rigid and parsimonious economy and that the Finance Department had been compelled to frame the departmental budgets ruthlessly. The only retrenchment which may strike the eyes of even a

casual observer of the budget figures has been with regard to certain items of capital expenditure, such as the construction of buildings etc., by the Public Works Department and the stoppage of certain promised and expected increments to the salaries of some classes of public servants, such as the sub-registrars, the inspectors of police in the mufassal, and the ministerial officers.

The Hon'ble the Finance Member gave expression to a sense of despair by saying that his hope of getting support from the "Standing Committees" in the matter of retrenchment, had not been realised. I am, Sir, sincerely sorry, that an administrator like the Hon'ble Member, with his shrewd commonsense, business instincts and wide knowledge of human nature, should have based his hopes upon such unstable foundation. The Standing Committees from their very constitution, and very narrow and limited outlooks could never take a broader view of the entire financial position and to recommend retrenchments in the departments to which they are attached. They only looked to the efficiency and the needs of those departments. Further, they were more or less dominated by the official and departmental elements. They were not in a position "to look before and behind" and to take a wider or more comprehensive view. Everywhere, separate retrenchment committees have been formed and anti-waste campaigns launched. But unfortunately for us, every resolution for the formation of such committees lapsed. Even those of my patriotic friends, who vehemently opposed the taxation Bills and were exceedingly keen after reducing the salaries of the Ministers, did not consider it worth their while to press for the formation of any such retrenchment committee.

"The administration is top-heavy, the increments lately allowed to the higher branches of the Public Services are out of proportion to their requirements," and "the taxable capacities of the poor tax-payers have been strained to their utmost limits, etc," have become copybook maxims and are in everybody's mouth; but there is no endeavour to start a thorough examination of the different departments and a study of their details. To single out isolated cases and to recommend "cutting down" in them, appeals to nobody. It is set down to jealousies narrow views, insufficient knowledge and disregard for efficiency.

If any drastic retrenchment is to be effected, if rigid economy is to be enforced and if the finances of the province have to be placed on any solid and sound basis, a body of men, composed of experts, both official and non-official, should be appointed to go into every detail to look into every nook and corner, to take evidence when necessary, to examine papers, to collect and study statistics and then to recommend ways and means and the extent of retrenchments possible. If such a committee takes a full year and even more and necessitates a large amount of expenditure, in my humble opinion, the time and money spent over such a committee would not be in vain. The increments

allowed on the recommendation of the Public Services Commission are hardly justified. The circumstances have altered, the times have changed and the recommendations have consequently grown antiquated. Then, with regard to wastage, can anyone in this Council lay his hands upon his breast and say that there is no wastage and no useless and avoidable expenditure? Take, for instance, one department such as "Stationery and Printing." The amount budgeted for is Rs. 27,10,000. I do not think I would be challenged, if I say, that considerable savings can be effected, if things are managed in a business like manner and with strict regard to economy. I have heard from members of the Bengal Civil Service both executive and judicial, that even they themselves consider that they have got more than their "deserts" and the increments recently allowed have been beyond their expectation. It is the firm belief of a considerable section of the community, that the scale of pay, pension and overseas allowances recently introduced, were more for placketing the members of the Imperial Service, to disarm their opposition to the "Reforms," than what was required by the exigencies of the time, such as higher costs of living, etc. So the "Reforms" have come to be associated with greater expenditure and the fact is being exploited to "curse" the Reforms and not to "bless" them. We all of us know full well, that the present "unrest" in the country is due more to economic causes than to any political propaganda and the removal of those causes is the surest remedy for the present distempers of the body-politic. Mere tinkering or patchwork will not do. We want all-round retrenchment and stoppage of waste and extravagance. To my mind, the immediate formation of a strong committee of retrenchment is the first step towards the consummation, which we all so devoutly wish for. Last year, when I moved the abolition of the Fisheries Department some member remarked that every civilised Government has such a department and defeated the motion by a narrow majority. Civilised or uncivilised, every Government has to stand on its own legs and got to be autonomous. The whole machinery demands a thorough overhauling from top to bottom. We must give a pull, a strong pull and a pull all together, to place it on the right back, to ensure its smooth working. What a pity that we have no money to give to the Universities and very little to spend on primary education, to remove the dense mass of illiteracy in the country, and yet we glory in our civilisation!

Rai RADHA CHARAN PAL Bahadur: The boon of the Reformed constitution has brought in its train curse of bankruptcy. Almost all the provinces, including the central Government, have been landed on the verge of a financial crisis. The tale is everywhere the same, the problem is universal—a problem of deficit, of excess of expenditure over revenue. But Bengal's predicament is the most serious and pitiful; here is an exceptional case, exceptional almost to the point of

desperation. Yet her misery is not her own creation altogether; it is the child of the Montford Reforms, the gift and award of the Meston and the Parliamentary Joint Committee. How she has been hit by the financial mal-adjustment consequent upon the Reforms is well-known and has been discussed threadbare times without number. Out of a total approximate revenue of about 30 crores of rupees, the lion's share of 20 crores is appropriated by the central Government, and she is asked to take all this injustice lying down. Unless this glaring injustice is redressed, there is little hope of recovery from the financial stringency and stagnation, which has been manifest in the budgets of two successive years.

The present budget estimates for the next financial year disclose a deficit of Rs 120 lakhs as against the deficit of Rs. 208 lakhs, with which the present financial year started. The Government machinery would have ceased to function unless there were the windfall of a gigantic balance in hand—a balance of Rs 361 lakhs, which represented the savings and economies of war time at the expense of development, programmes and provisions This gigantic balance saved the situation, and the balance has shrunk into Rs 63½ lakhs at the close of the present year. Nay, further than this, it will dwindle down still more to Rs 24 lakhs or thereabouts, since it is proposed to dip into the balances to the extent of Rs 40 lakhs during the next financial year and thereby reduce the deficit to Rs 80 lakhs apparently Balances are a reservoir of power and security, and any encroachment upon this stronghold of financial strength should not be regarded with complaisant equanimity. The general position may be summed up as follows. The deficit next year is budgeted at Rs 120 lakhs, and it is sought to be reduced in its size and magnitude to Rs 80 lakhs by tapping the balances, that is to say, by the transfer of Rs 40 lakhs from the balances to the expenditure head

This is a mere make-believe, an adroit manipulation of figures, which cannot rob the Budget of the terrors of deficit. The deficit is there, and may become chronic for some years to come in spite of the assurance of the Hon'ble the Finance Member that "there are good grounds for hope that this is the last of the deficit budgets" that he may have to present to this Council.

The Budget is melancholy reading from beginning to end; its features are dismal on all sides. We are told that there has been an appalling decrease of revenue during the present year to the tune of Rs. 76 lakhs, of which Rs. 52 lakhs occurs under the three main revenue-producing heads, namely, Land Revenue (Rs. 6,73,000), Excise (Rs. 22,80,000) and Stamp (Rs. 22,00,000). This is a very serious matter and bodes ill of the future. It does not warrant the hope that the present dulness and stagnation will subside in the immediate future and

the prospect of recovery will be in sight. There is acute economic distress and unrest in the country. Political discontent is abroad. The atmosphere is electric with a political ferment, almost unprecedented in its proportion and intensity in this land. The popular mind is charged with bitterness on account of the repressive policy of the Government; and there is a movement afloat to resist taxation. Further, there is trade slump and industrial unrest. Under these circumstances, he would indeed be a bold man, who would venture to prophesy or forecast the return of normal conditions of revenue in the immediate future. You cannot expect a boom in stamp and excise, two fruitful sources of revenue, for years to come.

Litigation is on the wane, and so is the craving for intoxicants. Bengal is indeed to be congratulated on the appreciable decline of revenue under these two heads. The loss of revenue is the measure of the gain in moral stature and strength.

The Hon'ble the Finance Member proposes to meet the reduced deficit of Rs. 80 lakhs from the expected revenue of Rs. 140 lakhs or so, which he hopes to derive from the proposed new taxation projects. This is counting the chickens before they are hatched The financial measures are mere experiments. How they will operate in practice is yet in the lap of the future. Whether they will fetch the amount estimated or much less is more than one can say just at this moment. Hence it is hazardous to be over-sanguine as to their prospective proceeds at this stage You cannot very well build up your hopes on the estimated proceeds of these taxes to ward off future deficits. Besides the revenue, whatever it may amount to, so derived from the introduction of the new taxes cannot be considered as a permanent addition to the revenues of Bengal. Should the financial injustice to Bengal be righted, both the Government and the Council ought to withdraw them at the earliest opportunity. These are mere temporary measures resorted to to tide over an impending crisis I believe I am correct in saying that it was with this view that several members gave their support to these Bills when they were introduced. Hence the surplus on which the Hon'ble the Finance Member builds so much hope is after all a very precarious thing.

The Hon'ble the Finance Member has referred to the use of the pruning-knife in connection with the budget estimates. The revised estimates show a saving of Rs. 68,00,000 over the original estimates of expenditure. This has been effected in view of the financial stringency, and is a step in the right direction. But the question may be pertinently asked: "Where has retrenchment been effected?" Is it in the region of establishment and offices or in that of sanitary and educational schemes? The Reformed Government with its hierarchy of officials, and functionaries of various types and grades, with its plethora of Executive Councillors, Ministers, Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries

and Under-Secretaries, has proved to be a veritable white elephant for the slender resources of this province. If salaries swallow up the largest slice of the revenue, the hope of stamping out malaria, spreading mass education, the provision of water-supply, of developing industrial and commercial education must always remain a day dream. In place of one Lieutenant-Governor and a Chief Secretary with a few others for the whole of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bengal alone is now saddled with several Members and Ministers in addition to a host of Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries and Under-Secretaries and other staff. Ruthless retrenchment must be the order of the day, or no relief can come to the financial stringency of Bengal. Why not cut down and reduce superfluous fat berths, sinecures like Divisional Commissionerships, Board of Revenue Memberships and many other such unnecessary posts?

It is false economy to reduce expenditure on account of progressive schemes of development, such as are calculated to improve the material and moral conditions of the life of the people. What will the Hon'ble Ministers do if they are not in a position to carry on their beneficent work in the nation-building departments, upon which so much stress is laid both in their speeches and in their resolutions?

As the present Budget is not a complete one, and a supplementary one is proposed to be issued showing the disposal of the expected surplus of Rs 60 lakhs or so, one is not justified in dwelling further on the details of the Budget, and, therefore, I would refrain from commenting on the details at the present moment, except a few items upon which I think it my duty to say a few words.

In the first place, as I have said, the total cost of administration has risen enormously. It will be seen that compared with 1920-21, the expenditure in that year was Rs 9 crores and 17 lakhs, while the budget for the ensuing year shows Rs. 10 crores and 22 lakhs, and as has been stated by the Hon'ble Member, this is the minimum budget that has been prepared for the purposes of carrying on the every-day administration. I believe, therefore, that this excess of one crore of rupees is due solely to the increase in establishment charges. Then the re-organisation of the services, as far as I have been able to ascertain, has actually cost more than Rs. 98,00,000 and the bulk of this increase is due to the increase of salary and additional staff. Then there is another item; of course it is not possible for us to get exact figures. This increased expenditure is partially also due to the rates of postage and telegraph having been increased by the Government of India; they come to very considerable sums, which are included under the head "Contract." I believe there should be some arrangement by which these rates can be reduced to the relief not only of our local Governments but also of the other local Governments, because after

all the local Governments are part and parcel of the central Government, and I do not think that the same rates of postage and telegraph should be levied as are levied on the outside people. There will be an appreciable reduction in the charges if concessions are granted in this respect by the Government of India. I do not know whether the local Government is in a position to make a representation to this effect to the Government of India.

Then, under the head "Reforms," the travelling expenditure including that of the members of this Council has risen from a few thousands to one lakh of rupees.

The Police Budget, as is usual—but I do not want to disturb the equanimity of the Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler—has also increased by the modest sum of Rs. 5½ lakhs, in spite of the addition that we made towards the beginning of this year.

Then turning to the education budget, I find that there are very interesting figures——

[Here the speaker having reached the time-limit had to resume his seat.]

Babu NIRODE BEHARY MULLICK: Last year this time, in connection with the general discussion of the Budget, I said—

> Lastly, I desire to respectfully submit that the policy of the Budget should be so framed that large sections of the rank and file on which depends the strength of the nation, may not be deprived of their due share of State help and patronage

That was like a cry in the wilderness and it was bound to be so; for indeed it would be the maddest folly in me to expect a sudden departure from the stereotyped policy which was being pursued for 150 years or more.

Let me illustrate my point by a reference to the Budget under discussion. The principal heads of revenue in the budget estimate for 1922-23 show the following:—

Land Revenue—3 crores and odd

Excise—About 2 crores

Stamps—2 crores and odd.

Forest—21 lakhs and odd.

Registration—21 lakhs and odd.

Along with these figures, let us take an account of the population. Now, it is well known that at present Bengal contains about 46 millions of people. Of these about 23 millions are Muhammadans and 21 millions are Hindus. Of these 21 millions again, no less than 10 to 14 millions are what are generally described as the backward classes. Now my point is that although these 10 to 14 millions of people, as agriculturists paying rent, as litigants paying court-fees and in diverse other ways pay a considerable tax to the coffers of the State,

they do not perhaps get even one-thousandth part of their due share of State help and patronage. It might be in the recollection of members of this Council that last year an altercation ensued about the allocation of grants to different communities. Babu Surendra Nath Mallik amongst others, said: "Then I come to our next enemy, equally old and equally well known and that is the improper and unjust division of public revenues among the different communities." To this Mr. Campbell Forrester replied: "I have heard several remarks in this Council particularly from Babu Surendra Nath Mallik, along with many others, who have inferred that gross partiality has been shown to Europeans and point to the grants given to Kalimpong (Rs. 80,000), Kurseong (Rs. 40,000) and the Loreto Convent (Rs. 20,000)." That means about Rs. 2 lakhs out of 16 lakhs or one-eighth has been given to the European representative schools. Now Sir, under the circumstances, I cannot remain silent any longer. I am absolutely impartial in this matter and like Mr. Stark wish to see justice done. I want to see fair play and like to get to bed-rock. With that object in view I would like to know what proportion of the income-tax is paid by the European British tax-payer. Perhaps the Hon'ble Member for Finance would answer. My object in quoting these passages at elaborate length is to join hands with Mr. Forrester in the request that the taxes paid by different communities might be known to members so that justice may be done to different communities as is surely the desire of all members of this Council. So far as mere sweet words are concerned, I admit that from the highest rulers of the province to the so-called Leagues, every one shows sympathy with the condition of the backward classes. But when the time for practical action comes, all sympathy evaporates. Mere sweet words count for nothing and figures like those in the present Budget are conclusive evidence of the mentality of the Government. In other parts of India, notably in Madras, Mysore and Bombay, numerous free scholarships, free hostels and Government employments have been generously given to the backward classes and thus justice done to them. I think this point ought to be carefully remembered by Government—both the reserved and transferred sides—if they have any respect for justice and fair play.

It has been said that we are a dying race and that if deaths continue at the same rate at which they are now doing, it is only a matter of arithmetical calculation, as to when Bengalis will cease to exist. This was said, it must be remembered, when there was no problem of water-hyacinth. This new menace to civilisation has added fresh complexity to this already difficult problem. The other day a question was put in the Council to the effect that owing to water-hyacinth, Eastern Bengal, which was once very healthy, has been becoming more unhealthy daily. The Hon'ble Minister replied by saying that this question showed a wrong conception of the duties of the provincial Government. The proper authority to tackle the question of

water-hyacinth was not the provincial Government but the district boards and that Government was willing to help in the best possible way. But I submit, Sir, that the pest of water-hyacinth is not gracious enough to acknowledge technical arguments. You throw the responsibility on the shoulders of the district board and the district boards send the file back to you. But in the meantime water-hyacinth spreads, malaria extends its scope, and the same tale of deaths is told with increased vigour. Sir, I submit this is not the right spirit in which a Minister of the transferred Government should look at a question, with which the life and death of a nation is closely woven.

With regard to the question of public health, the policy that has been pursued so long and that is being pursued even now has touched only a small part of the population, that lives in towns—the present policy being to open up dispensaries here and there, to put a doctor here and there, and to send as many as might come, there. But this policy is so expensive that it is very doubtful whether even within 50 years the whole of Bengal will come within the range of medical relief or not. Recently, a resolution moved by my friend Babu Hem Chandra Naskar has been accepted by Government which shows that Government are desirous of trying Ayurvedic and Unani systems. It is known that these systems are cheaper. Ayurvedic medicines cost almost next to nothing. I think a conference of all kinds of Medical and Ayurvedic practitioners ought to be called by the Minister-in-charge to explore this question.

I do not say much of primary education inasmuch as I know the enthusiasm with which members unanimously desire its universal extension. As for myself, I adhere to the principle, "Nothing like primary education," and to me any delay in its spread—by whatsoever excuse whether of money or of policy—is criminal in view of the fact that no improvement whether in health or spirit of Bengal can be effected without it.

In conclusion, I plead for a broader outlook—an outlook that delights in seeing justice and fair play done to all communities. So long, the policy that guided the Government had been based on the total forgetfulness of the simple fact that a nation in India lives in villages and as a result we have got only apologies and not the real material in every department whether of Public Health or of Education. Now, when real power has been transferred to us in the nation-building departments, I hope villages would be the pole star, as it were, by which to guide our actions and policies.

Babu FANINDRALAL DE: I must candidly say that the second financial year of the Reformed era also begins with an outlook as dismal as it could possibly be. I do not share the Hon'ble Finance Member's optimism that our evil days are well nigh over and a panacea has been

found in the new taxation Bills; I admit, I do not possess that bouyancy of spirit. On the contrary, I believe that troubled times are still ahead. The expectation from the new taxes may not mature and even if they do, unforeseen emergency expenditures, possible every moment in these days of unrest, may absorb it up, leaving us in the same plight as before. The remedy ought to be a different one and the salvation is to be found through an entirely different channal. The Hon'ble Finance Member complains that it is not possible to show a power of imagination and signs of constructive programme in a deficit budget. It may be true for the individual, who does only the mechanical figure-work at the behest of others; it is not so, however, for a benign Government. Only in such abnormal times, can the constructive genius and a foresight be shown, be it by bold steps in the direction of ruthless retrenchment of all unnecessary expenditure or by the imposition of judicious taxation.

Facts are solid things. Ever since the Reform Act has been put into operation, we have heard an intolerable deal about our nation-building departments and all they can or might do. Nothing, however, has come out of these bombasts. Money is to be found first, but that is not coming forth. It cannot come under the existing circumstances. On the revenue side of our Budget, as it is, there is hardly any item capable of considerable expansion, but there appears to be no abatement or visible limit to our expenditure. It is an admitted fact that taxation in the Province has reached such a point beyond which it cannot safely be allowed to pass. Before submitting to fresh imposition, the people must feel that every possible effort has been made in the direction of economy and that they are getting their money's worth. The irony of fate, however, is, that in spite of the crushing burden, every proposal that is calculated to benefit the half-fed, malaria-stricken and utterly illiterate masses or to better the hard lot of the poor clerks or school masters, have to be indefinitely postponed or entirely abandoned, while the revenue wrung out of the impoverished people is being spent in pampering administrative anomalies.

There is a firm-rooted belief in the country that in our top-heavy administration there are expensive departments and princely-salaried posts which can be safely abolished and amalgamated without impairing, in the least, the efficiency of the administration. They believe that this is one of the primary causes of our bad finance. Strange to say, that in spite of continuous hammering, an inquiry could not be taken up, not to speak of any saving in this direction. Indeed the Finance Member announced some retrenchments, but they were only in grants and not in the establishments about which the complaint is so bitter. There was still some hope that a move will be made in this direction in the Budget, but here again there is nothing but disappointment. I have now begun to believe that if this sort of thing persists and if the members of the higher services keep on drawing salaries which is at once an envy and

amazement of the civilised world, there cannot be any radical improvement in our finances and money for essential needs of the people will not be found by taxation alone.

The asset of a country is its people, healthy, contented, and educated in civic duties. It is not sound statesmanship to ignore that and it is a positive mistake to neglect to look after those requirements.

Coming to the actual Budget, I find the form a distinct improvement over that of the last year. Many items which were unintelligible to the unaccustomed minds and which caused a lot of trouble have been made clear and lucid in the present Budget, and our sincere thanks for that are due to the Finance Member. The spirit, however, remains the same and we find the same inequitable and unfair distribution of the revenues. between the transferred and the reserved groups, 33⅓ to 66⅔ per cent. The case is a bit worse this year, because in the last Budget the percentages were 35 and 65. In spite of all we heard from the Finance Member about the limitation of these proportions, I am inclined to believe that they show us the trend of affairs. This is certainly discordant with the spirit of the Reforms, the success of which depends entirely on how the departments, transferred to popular control, are worked.

The Hon'ble Member seems to have been rather very cautious in the statement of the proposed receipts of the next year. This is undoubtedly due to the bitter experience of the last year. The income-tax has vanished from the list, so much the better. There is no good in making assignments and counter-assignments unless there is any material gain out of it. The sum under the Land Revenue is the maximum expected under the cimcumstances and this can only be realised if the conditions are ideal, which is far from the actual facts. In Excise too the estimate appears to be greater than what can be reasonably expected. The major portion of this revenue is from country liquors and about 70 per cent. of that is consumed in and around Calcutta. The conditions of trade have not improved, the mills are working short time and above all there is the vigorous anti-drinking propaganda, which is fast taking a firm hold in the country. I would therefore consider the authorities lucky if they can realise, next year, the amount shown in the revised estimate of 1921-22.

Stamps, again, I apprehend, will share the same fate. With the increase in the charge for, and the growing apathy of the people to, litigation, the Judicial stamps will not certainly fetch as much as is expected; while if the presenet depression in business continues, the General stamps will also follow suit.

After all, everything will depend upon the political atmosphere of the country. If the present unrest and turmoil continue even this conservative estimate of the Finance Member will not materialise.

Turning to the expenditure side, we find the same old story of the past years repeated in their entirety. There is no perceptible improvement

in it; the Finance Member says that there cannot be any in a deficit Budget. There is the same old spirit of tinkering, a dole here and a dole there, but most of these, unfortunately, gravitate towards the big hole in our financial system and thereby lost to the people. The little increase shown in several items is perhaps the normal thing in the time-scale arrangement of salaries in the establishments and nothing more. Two points are, however, worth noting. In several of the major heads, like Police, General Administration and Administration of Justice, while the voted portions have remained the same as before or have decreased even, the non-voted amounts have considerably increased. Are we losing the newly acquired control over the purse of the Province? Another point, equally striking, but more unfortunate is, that in spite of the provisions made in the last Budget, nothing has been done in the direction of ameliorating the miseries of the poorly-paid ministerial establishments, the members of the Subordinate Educational Service and also of the Registration Department. Of all men they needed relief first, but by a cruel irony of fate, their cases have been deferred, it appears indefinitely, in preference to those already drawing fat salaries and who were lavishly granted large sums in the shape of back pays. Volumes of explanations can again be submitted, but that reflects no credit on those in charge of affairs, nor does it redress the just grievances. The Police as usual, is absorbing the lion's share of the revenue. There was a large increase under this heading in the current year's Budget over that of 1920-21. In spite of the fact that many schemes, such as the reorganisation of the 24-Parganas Town Police and the increase of pay of ministerial officers, were postponed, the revised estimate shows practically the same expenditure as that budgeted. People expected some relief next year, but here again they are disappointed. If the provision of Rs. 1,87,000 for "Home Charges" under this, which is not shown in the ordinary Budget, be added to that provided for police, the amount becomes a new record. Part of the expenditure under Railway Police is going to be realised from the Assam and the Bihar and Orissa Governments, but still the provision for 1922-23 exceeds that of 1921-22. We are told in the note added, that the amount of Rs. 5,49,000 over the revised estimates of the current year is to be taken as the "normal growth." Candidly speaking, I fail to appreciate the remark. The expenditure under this item has increased enormously in recent years and so any talk of a still normal growth for some time to come, is merely to hide the real issue. Then again, there ought to be reasonable normal growth in sanitation, agriculture and similar other departments, but unfortunately this is not the case.

A little more than the revised estimate has been allotted to Education this time. But time alone will show whether full advantage is taken of this. Under "University" page 44 of the black book, we are told that the decrease in the revised estimates is partly due to the non-utilization in full of the provisions for grant to the non-Government Arts colleges.

This sounds a bit strange. The private colleges lack resources, they have been hard hit by the non-co-operation movement, it is a pity that they have not received the little that was provided for them. Then there is the increased provision this year to meet the cost of reorganisation of the services below the Bengal Educational service. We have heard much about it, but nothing tangible has come out as yet. It remains to be seen how much of it is utilised.

The case of Medical seems to be the worst this year. The increase in the expenditure is all illusory. It is mainly under "Lunatic Asylums" and that mostly for Europeans. The grants for the hospitals and dispensaries of the province have decreased from Rs. 5,30,000 to Rs. 386,000, it is said, according to requirements, while that for various establishments for nurses amounts nearly to a lakh of rupees. I fail to realise what this actually means. The Public Health Department seems to be also niggardly provided, more so when it is found that the major portion under this head is absorbed by establishments and not for grants for Public Health purposes.

It is a matter of regret that improvement in grants started for Agriculture has not been maintained. It has not escaped the lot common to all the transferred subjects The decrease in the revised estimate, it is said, is partly due to the non-utilisation in full of the provisions for it. Are we to understand that the last word has been said in the direction of improvement of the agriculture of the province so that no more funds can be employed for the benefit of the people? Certainly, this is not the case. A more forward policy on behalf of the Government is required in the province for this department.

A word more and I conclude With all my belief in Reforms, I must say that the Budget falls too short of the expectations of the new era. Our principal need is money for the nation-building departments and the Budget ought to be thoroughly scrutinised to find out where retrenchment is possible or where additional expenditure is not imperative. This is all true. But it is truer still that we need a change in the angle of vision on the part of the authorities, and the power to take a true perspective of the whole situation. I wish to emphasise again the point that the principal concern of a Government is the welfare, both physical and moral, of its people and it is the supreme duty to look after these vital things and provide for them. To ignore or subordinate that to any other motive will be an irreparable blunder.

Mr. AJOY CHUNDER DUTT: It is somewhat difficult to make a definite pronouncement upon this Budget, and that for the simple reason that it is only half the entire Budget. The Budget that Government has placed before us is the deficit Budget, and I understand a supplementary Budget will be placed before us after the taxation Bills are passed.

There are certain things in this document which call for certain observations, and I shall confine myself to just the prominent features of this document. There is a deficit of Rs. 1,20,00,000. It is intended to meet this deficit from the following two sources: firstly, from balances, and secondly from the proceeds of new taxation; about Rs. 40 lakhs will be taken out of the closing balance, and about Rs. 80 lakhs will be taken, I understand, from the proceeds of the new taxes, which are estimated to be about Rs. 1,40,00,000. By this arrangement, I understand, there will be a balance, a favourable balance of over Rs. 60 lakhs. All this looks very well, but I do not know whether there will be a balance of Rs. 60 lakhs. It is said that new loans may be raised for the purpose of financing schemes of the nation-building departments, and that can only be done if we have a surplus, and that is the only reason why such a large surplus is to be maintained. I wish to compare the figures of this Budget with the figures of the last, and I find that the total estimated expenditure of the last Budget was Rs. 12,59,61,000; now the actual expenditure was Rs. 11,91,30,000, that is to say, by means of retrenchment, about Rs. 68,31,000 was saved. For the next year, the estimated expenditure is Rs. 10,22,45,000; in other words, we propose to spend next year Rs. 1,68,85,000 less than we actually spent during the current year. I ask whether this is possible. After a great deal of retrenchment---

MEMBER in charge of DEPARTMENT of FINANCE (the Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Kerr): May I rise to a point of order? I would point out that the hon'ble member has overlooked the contribution to the Government of India of Rs. 63 lakhs, and the income-tax contribution of Rs. 93 lakhs.

Mr. AJOY CHUNDER DUTT: I thank the Hon'ble Member; I am sorry I overlooked these figures. Then we shall be able to maintain this balance of Rs. 60 lakhs. Very drastic retrenchments will have to be made under the head of "Civil Works"; I see there is a saving of Rs. 38,13,000 under this head; a considerable saving has also been made under the head "Survey and Settlement." These items have been ruthlessly cut down. It may be possible to run the administration next year on Rs. 10,22,45,000, but how long can we go on in this way? Will it be possible to run the administration on this amount after next year? I know it is possible to suspend settlement operations for one year; but how long can we continue that policy; this is a very disastrous policy, and if persisted in, we shall go bankrupt. The object of this retrenchment is for the purpose of showing a balance of over Rs. 60 lakhs. I should like to ask the Hon'ble Finance Member whether it is proposed in any way to increase these items of expenditure in the supplementary Budget, because if

so the surplus must diminish—I am not quite sure about that, but I imagine that some of the items must necessarily be increased.

I shall make a few observations now, with reference to the transferred departments. I find the Budget estimate for the current year under the heads "Education," "Medical," "Public Health," "Agriculture and Industries" was Rs. 2,52,17,000; in the new Budget, the estimated expenditure is Rs. 2,30,09,000. Therefore, here again, this means a saving of about Rs. 22 lakhs. I think it is generally admitted that the transferred departments are very badly financed and I do not know whether this saving can possibly be made without detriment to the working of those departments. I find that under the head of "Public Health" there is a saving this year of over Rs. 4 lakhs. Public Health is a most important item, and I do not think it is possible to make any saving under that head, but of course, we shall be told possibly that the Hon'ble Minister intends to float loans so as to raise money to finance these schemes. I do not know what these schemes are; I do not know if anybody knows what they are; we have heard of some of them; for instance, the anti-malarial programme, but we do not know what that programme is. I should have thought that the Minister concerned would have placed before us a statement giving us a fair idea of what this scheme is; so that we may know how much money he intends to raise or spend next year; all these were shrouded in darkness last year, and a considerable amount of criticism was directed against them because there was no ready programme; now one year has passed and the Ministers have no ready programme. I do not know whether they intend to carry on the administration in the old way, but I can assure the Council that I am most anxious that the Reforms shall succeed, and for the success of the Reforms, it is absolutely necessary that the transferred departments should be managed more successfully than in the past. The only justification for the increase in the expenditure involved in the case under the Reforms can be made if the transferred departments are worked satisfactorily, that is to say, much more efficiently than in the past. Most people ask us—"What have you got by these Reforms? Are you working these transferred departments better and more efficiently?" We say—"We have no money." They say—"Is there any chance of getting money?" We answer. "There is no chance that we can see of getting money." Then they say—"What is the use of having got this administration which is much more expensive than the old, unless the transferred departments are worked more satisfactorily?" Really we have no answer to that, and, therefore, if it is sought to make the Reforms a success, it is absolutely necessary that the transferred deparments should be worked more efficiently than in the past, and I do hope that the Hon'ble Ministers—a great many are not present here—would be good enough to tell us what these schemes are, because we want to know, we are anxious to know, but let them not say they have got no

schemes for the simple reason that they have got no money, and therefore they have not thought it worth while thinking of any schemes. I should like to ask the Hon'ble Ministers the following questions: first, what are these schemes?

Babu SURENDRA NATH MALLIK: May I rise to a point of order? Is the hon'ble member entitled to ask questions of Ministers in their absence?

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: Yes, the Secretaries are here and they can take note of the questions.

Mr. AJOY CHUNDER DUTT: I think I have said all I have to say; I would not like to put questions in their absence, but we are very interested and we should like to know what money the Ministers are going to raise by loans, and how this money is going to be utilised, and we would ask them to place a statement before us as to the schemes they are going to work out, this is very important, and if the Ministers are not prepared to indicate to us their programme of work, I must confess I shall be most deeply disappointed

Babu DEVI PROSAD KHAITAN: On a perusal of the Budget, I must confess to some disappointment, though not to utter despair, for the Hon'ble Finance Member, when introducing the Budget, anticipated us by saying that all constructive schemes had not been included in the Budget that has been introduced, but will be included in the supplementary Budget that will be introduced, when the taxation Bills are passed When framing the Budget we have got to take stock of the whole position, ascertain our requirements and troubles and devise ways and means for ameliorating our conditions. Unfortunately, our miseries are due to economic troubles which have given strength to political agitation that has been going on. The conditions have been correctly described by Mr. Montagu when on the 14th February, 1922, he said:

> India was highly taxed, prices were very high and the population was very poor The only cure was the development of the industrial and agricultural resources of India in order that the people might become richer

Not only in the interests of the people but also the Government it is necessary that constructive schemes should be put in action for the improvement of agriculture and manufactures. Our duty is not done by saying that the agriculturists are overwhelmed by indebtedness and ignorance, or by saying that people are not enterprising and do not combine for establishing large factories. We have to recognise these facts, organise and utilise our resources, and take the necessary steps whereby with our present resources, we can develop agriculture and industries. We cannot afford to lose further time. To relieve the condition of the peasants, we have to start agricultural banks immediately, and take other necessary steps towards that end. So far as the

industries are concerned our politicians have, for a large number of years, asserted that Government should leave no stone unturned for the development of industries in the country as being the most important cure for unemployment, poverty, low buying capacity, helplessness against diseases, want of education, low standard of living, and the other miseries which our country is subject to.

It may be observed in spite of the recognition by the Indians that industries are essentially necessary for the economic welfare of the country, and in spite of the great opportunity rendered by the European war, India has failed to make the desired amount of progress. It is admitted on all hands that this failure is due by no mean extent to the fact that the capital resources are not organised and small capitalists, who mainly control money in the country, have shown no disposition to combine for the establishment of large factories having their own independent power plants each requiring over ten lakhs of rupees. At the same time, it is found that people are eager to take to productive enterprises if it can be done by the employment of small capital, say forty to fifty thousand rupees

The cotton industry furnishes an instance which can be developed through what is known as "cottage industries" if cheap power can be supplied. Except the supply of cheap power, we have got all the factors which go to make an industry a success, *viz.*, raw material, cheap labour, capital and a vast market for finished products. The final memorandum on the cotton crop for 1921-22 shows that the total estimated yield is 4,480,000 bales of 400 lbs. each. The lowest average yield of cotton in India may be taken to be 40 lakhs of bales equivalent to 160 crores lbs. which is capable of producing at least 600 crores of yards. A recent *communiqué* of the Government of Bihar and Orissa stated that the total average annual consumption in India of cloth before the war was 440 crores of yards, but after the war, owing to high prices, it had fallen to 370 crores of yards. From Coubrough's note on the Indian piece-goods trade, it appears that in 1920-21 India's consumption was—

		Crores of yards
Imported cloth	...	143
Cloth made in Indian mills	...	143
Hand loom production	...	118

Mr. Sanjiva Rao, the Textile Expert to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, in his note on Hand-Loom Weaving in India, published in the Journal of Indian Industries and Labour, Vol. 1, part 4, at page 478, has drawn the following conclusions:—

(a) The total consumption of clothing in India is likely in the near future, to be 5,000 million yards of coarse cloth per annum, besides the finest qualities which have to be imported to the extent of 2,500 million yards.

(b) Only half of the former quality is now produced in the country, 1,500 million yards by the mills and 1,000 million yeads by the cottage weavers

It is thus clear that cotton industry furnishes in this country a vast field for progress, and weaving can be easily increased and stimulated through cottage establishments by small capitalists with the aid of cheap power. The need for cheap power was emphasised by Sir Thomas Holland, who is closely acquainted with Indian conditions, when presiding at a meeting of the East Indian Association in London on the 20th February, 1922, at which he said, "Liberal reforms were important but cheap power and sulphuric acid were essential." Bengal has the advantage of close proximity to extensive coal-fields and can give cheap supply of electric power Taking the population of Bengal at 45 millions, that is over one-seventh of the whole of India, she needs even on present estimate about 650 millions yards of clothing of which she produces a small percentage Other provinces, specially Bombay, are progressing in the manufacture of cloth It is therefore essential that to enable Bengal to stand on her own legs in the near future, and to keep pace with the other provinces, no time should be lost in giving every possible facility and encouragement and in utilising all her resources

It may further be observed that, as has been pointed out by the Indian Industrial Commission, cheap power is also necessary for and will help the establishment of many other essential industries, *e g*, the manufacture of chemicals, etc, and other industries like rice mills, oil mills, etc, for which there is ample scope in Bengal

Available materials should be utilised and helped, *viz.*, small capitalists, weavers, unskilled labour, etc

Small capitalists, say with Rs 30,000 will, to successfully carry on a cottage industry, require cheap electric power

Municipalities (helped by the provincial Government) should supply cheap electricity and a beginning should be forthwith made at places where weavers exist, so that, on the one hand, small capitalists may employ the weavers, and start work with the knowledge that the weavers already possess, and on the other hand, individual owners may take the benefit of cheap electricity. Compare electric wheat-grinding *chakkis* in Calcutta and elsewhere, also cottage industries in Japan and elsewhere.

A beginning should be made at once at three or four places like Bankura, Dacca, Pabna, and Shantipur with generating stations run by coal. Hydro-electric survey should be systematically carried on without delay.

Electricity so produced will also supply power to the town for lights and fans, as well as for other cottage industries like oil mills, rice mills, as also carpentry, iron smithy, etc., that will grow up alongside and as subsidiary to the weaving-looms.

In the commencement, sizing, winding and warping may be done in efficient hand machines, but this may be in the near future followed by machines run by electricity at central factories established for the purpose either by the municipality, or by private persons. This will also be so as regards calendars, dyeing, bleaching, bundling, baling, stamping, folding, etc., none of which is required in the beginning. Generating plant, etc., whatever is established by the municipality, should be sold or leased to private persons and firms as soon as possible. Erecting of generating plants, etc., by private parties may be encouraged by means of loans, subsidies, guarantee of profits, as in the case of railways, etc. Municipalities should advance moneys on security of cottage industries, and sell necessary machinery on hire-purchase system. Weavers and small capitalists will, under the foregoing scheme, be enabled to carry on the occupation themselves at their own houses, and thus save rents and top-heavy establishments. This will also relieve unemployment.

To give the scheme a start, not more than ten lakhs of rupees will be required in the current year. Allotments in subsequent years will depend on the number of places and size of undertakings that may be selected.

We cannot afford to forget that a large number of members of this House extended their support to the taxation Bills on the assumption that the major portion of the proceeds or the loan policy that may be inaugurated will be utilised for the improvement of agriculture, industries, sanitation and education. I hope that in winding up the Budget debate, the Hon'ble the Finance Member will see his way to take the House in his confidence and give us an assurance that at least two-thirds will be utilised for those objects.

Maulvi HAMID-UD-DIN KHAN: Last year at the time of Budget discussion I described the Budget of 1921-22 as a budget of disappointment, for we had a deficit of over 2 crores of rupees at the time of presentation of the Budget I described the Budget of 1921-22 as a budget of disappointment because Government of India did not come to our rescue. Bengal Government's desire on the one side and our cravings on the other for a substantial grant to Bengal by the Government of India have proved to be a cry in the wilderness. Our repeated prayer and petitions have produced no effect upon the minds of the Government of India. So we had to labour under great difficulties and distress to the end of the year hoping against hope for a succour from the Government of India even at the last moment. Thus our hopes have been disappointed. Having failed in all our efforts to create an impression upon the India Government as regards pecuniary help, we have made up our minds to find out money by taxing the over-taxed people of Bengal. The taxations have come in the shape of three Bills—Amusement Bill, Court-fees Bill and Stamp Bill. These three Bills are like three demons claiming

their respective shares vying with one another and encroaching upon the resources of the poor peasants of Bengal by sucking their life-blood. Of the three Bills before the House the Court-fees Bill is the most dangerous and will tell heavily upon poor people who will have to bear the brunt without any word of protest and even with a grin. I do not like to go into the detail of these Bills at present, but I should say that these Bills will make poor inarticulate millions of Bengal "dead white" in course of a few years if the Bills are passed into law as they stand at present.

Now to the Budget itself. I wish to make only a few observations as to the present Budget, as I will get an opportunity to discuss it in detail when the aforesaid Bills will be passed into law increasing the tissue of revenue of Bengal.

At a glance on page 50 of the white book we find that provision for revision of pay of ministerial establishment in accordance with Salaries Committee's report is placed as "non-voted." I could not with all possible endeavour find out the reason of this item being put as "non-voted." I am sorry to say that it is not the only item. We come across the same anomaly, *i.e.*, Provision of revision of pay of ministerial establishment placed as "non-voted," at pages 50, 53, 55, 56, 57, 60, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 79, 80, and 82.

It is known to all of us that the pleadership examination has been abolished, but we are surprised to see at page 74 (white book) a provision of Rs. 15,000 as pleadership examination charges. This is something like Bengali proverb—"Though there is no head but aching is there." There is no examination but the charge is there. It really sounds strange, but I do not like to count upon it so long I get an explanation from the Hon'ble Finance Member.

Last year at the time of Budget there was a great deal of heat produced about the Grand Trunk Canal. We find in the present Budget (black book) three dredgers—*Ronaldshay*, *Cowley* and *Burdwan* are expected to arrive soon from England. These dredgers will, I think, drain us to the dregs.

We do not want always an adviser, especially Lady Adviser—the Lady Adviser was to be driven away last year but still we find at page 58 (white book), a sum of Rs. 11,060 has been provided for a Lady Adviser. I cannot for a moment understand the reason for the provision of this amount in the Budget.

The Calcutta police are for Calcutta people. There is a resolution to that effect. Let Calcutta maintain her own police as decided by a resolution of the Council and this burden may be removed from the general Budget. From last year we are crying hoarse for the reduction of the cost of the maintenance of the Police. The larger share of income of railway goes to India Government but we have to maintain Police for the Eastern Bengal Railway and the East Indian Railway. The kernel

is taken by India Government and the husk is left for us and still we will have to bear the whole burden of this heavy police expense.

Last of all, for education sufficient funds have not been provided. We find the same distinction between the education expense of European and Anglo-Indian boys on one side and Indian boys, specially Muhammadan boys on the other. The distinction seems to me a great one and should be redressed at an early date.

Smoke-nuisance Commission for which Rs. 34,000 are going to be spent does not seem to me to be useful, rather than a nuisance.

I should last of all say that Education, Sanitation and Agriculture should be taken into consideration when the Bills will be passed, so that substantial help may be given to the poorer section of the population who will have to bear the greatest portion of the burden of new taxation —if the poorer section should have corresponding benefit from this Budget, it is then and then only we may think of the success of the Reforms —otherwise not.

With these few words, I resume my seat.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: I ought to mention to the Hon'ble Members that I have got only four other speakers and they may take us up to 6 P.M. If there are no other speakers after that, I shall have to ask the Government members to reply.

Mr. BIJOY PROSAD SINGH ROY: The annual exposition of the financial state and the prospect of the province even on ordinary occasions affords abundant material of interest to the people of this presidency and of anxiety to the person charged with that exposition. On the present occasion, I believe, the anxiety of the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Budget is shared not only by the members of this Council but by the people of this country at large to whom any news of fresh taxation is not only vexatious but also alarming. To the utter misfortune of my countrymen this sting of financial embarrassment has been rendered more painful by the present political state of the country and its irresponsible handling by the Government It has undoubtedly enfeebled the administration and has deprived the Reforms of half their charm. A budget with a deficit of Rs. 120 lakhs, a budget shorn of all proposals of improvement and advancement, a budget with a huge and undiminished expenditure on the police and other agencies of molestation and humiliation, and a budget which is to be followed shortly by proposals of fresh taxation can never be welcomed by a representative of the half-famished and dying people. But however unwelcome it may be, we must have to face this financial crisis as practical men—a crisis which is largely due to an injudicious financial settlement over which the provincial Government has got very little control. We should give the Government our whole-hearted support, provided they are sincerely anxious to accept all proposals of retrenchment and equitable readjustment of revenues. In spite of all pledges of retrenchment of expenditure

and in spite of the statement made by the Hon'ble Finance Member that the deficit has been reduced to an irreducible minimum by retrenchment, I venture to submit that there is still room for it.

The first item in the Budget which attracts one's attention is the Revenue Department. It was certainly under some evil influence that the Government began the survey and settlement operations in this province. However noble their intention may be, and however anxious they may be to fulfil their pledge to the raiyats of Bengal, they have, by the settlement operations, succeeded in rendering the raiyats all the more miserable and in giving them fresh cause of friction between themselves and the landlords which the Government should, under the present political state of the country, avoid by all means.

The Budget statement for the next year's work is over Rs. 20 lakhs and all this on the ground that unless the works are completed and the final publication of the records-of-right is made, Government will not be able to realise the sums already spent. This, Sir, is a good plea to continue the work in the districts where the settlement operations are far advanced; but what is the justification for continuing the work in those districts where even traverse survey has not been completed? What is the justification for building costly houses for the settlement offices in those districts where perhaps the work itself will be finished before the buildings are completed?

Turning to the head of Irrigation and Drainage, the first thing which strikes a representative from Burdwan is the want of sufficient provision for the works for mitigating the floods of the Damodar. These projects are long overdue and their urgency cannot be sufficiently exaggerated. I understand that the greater projects like the Damodar Canal should stand over at present owing to the general scheme of retrenchment.

The Jail is certainly a productive department and I think the Government should make it self-supporting by increasing its industries. There is a demand for Rs. 96,000 for a new jail at Patuakhali. This is a very inopportune time for wasting public money on such projects.

Then comes the Police, the most expensive and the most favoured department of the Government. After the incident of last year, one naturally feels nervous to propose any retrenchment here. But without much hesitation I can say that if the Government accept the proposals of the advocates of retrenchment, large sums of money will come out of this department.

The transferred departments have suffered much under the general scheme of retrenchment. The expenditure for the maintenance and the improvement of hospitals has been curtailed. The grants under the Public Health Department are chiefly confined to contributions to waterworks under the municipalities, but rural areas have been completely ignored. A sum of only Rs. 5,000 has been given for the very useful purpose of child-welfare and a sum of Rs. 9,000 for the anti-malarial

operations. This is ridiculous. I cannot lose this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the Hon'ble Minister for an allotment of Rs. 60,000 for the distribution of quinine.

The expenditure of the Education Department remains practically unchanged. The increase of Rs. 5,50,000 is for the revision of the pay of the teachers. As regards the grant to the Universities, I cannot but say that more money should be paid to the University of Calcutta. While a sum of about Rs. 10 lakhs has been granted to the Dacca University, only a small dole of Rs. 14 lakhs has been given to the most useful institution of Calcutta.

About our Agricultural Department, its important feature is that more money has been spent on supervision than on actual improvement of agriculture. There is a host of supervising officers without much field for supervision. Only a sum of Rs. 13,000 has been allowed for the distribution of improved jute and paddy seeds and a very small sum has been given for the grant to the Co-operative Societies. My time is limited; so it is better that I should be very brief in my remarks. To sum up, therefore, I venture to submit that if the Government are really anxious to improve the financial condition of the country they must be prepared to make all reasonable retrenchments and judicious adjustments of the surplus. I am not ready to put a fresh burden on my countrymen only to meet the ever-increasing demands of the reserved departments. The country is against any fresh taxation and I shall be betraying the trust of my constituency if I agree to it even without any prospect of substantial benefits which the country may reap by the sacrifice which taxation always means. In order to avoid fresh taxation in case the Government of India demand then Rs 63 lakhs after 3 years, I think our surplus should be increased by another Rs 43 lakhs by retrenchment, and this should be spent in the meantime for the development of the nation-building departments. Then, it will be a matter of some consolation and there will be some justification for these fresh taxations besides the raising of a sanitation loan.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: I ought to make it clear to non-official members that after the official members have once begun to speak, I would not allow non-official members to speak on the Budget (" Hear, hear ").

Rai HARENDRANATH CHAUDHURI: Without any past savings to draw upon, this is the first Budget to show the deadlock under the Reforms, the first to disclose the full significance of the new financial arrangements and the first Budget to disabuse the public mind. Such a disillusionment, however, has its use. On the one hand, it discourages cheap optimism and encourages economy, and on the other discredits " the gift theory " of the Reforms. At least Bengal has not simply got the Reforms but bought it and bought it dearly.

Coming to the figures, it is really a sad story from the beginning to the end. Not only hopes of a windfall from the heights of Simla have been frustrated, but the actual receipts have fallen much below the budget calculations almost under every revenue head (except Jails and Medical, two noteworthy items indeed) during the current year with the result that the deficit of about Rs. 76 lakhs out of the one crore may be very well be traced to it. Had it not been so, it is doubtful whether even a loan of Rs. 32 lakhs for capital expenditure on account of waterways would have necessitated the taxes. The prospect again is not very cheerful for we have got to budget about Rs. 40 lakhs less than the expected receipts of 1921-22.

Under the circumstances, what should one legitimately expect? Well, that there should be drastic retrenchments all along the line. But we see that leaving out head "51.—Contributions and assignments to the Central Government" only a reduction of (Rs. 10,20,880- Rs. 10,04,000) about Rs. 16 lakhs could be proposed next year upon the revised estimates of the current year. This is the position even after economising expenditure under Civil Works a doubtful economy. And what are the heads which have suffered comparatively heavier curtailments?

There are the transferred. For while the expenditure budgeted for 1922-23 under the reserved heads is less by Rs. 4¼ lakhs than the revised estimate the expenditure under the transferred heads is less by Rs. 12½ lakhs than the revised estimate. We do not know whether it has been made in anticipation of the loan to be floated especially for the reserved subjects. For if that be so then the taxes, alleged to be necessary *inter alia* for making such loans possible will no doubt have further justification.

Then coming to the details in expenditure one wonders where, if at all, the pruning-knives have been applied to such subjects as Land Revenue, General Administration, Police, etc.? For while under the first two heads, *i.e.*, Land Revenue and General Administration Rs. 147½ lakhs was budgeted last year, this year it is proposed to spend Rs. 146½ lakhs under those two heads, and this in spite of a reduction of Rs. 8½ lakhs under the head Survey and Settlement. And the Police? Well, it must have something near about two crores or to be precise Rs. 1,90,00,000 even excluding such a provision as was made in the last budget for removing the alms house at a cost of Rs. 5 lakhs of and even excluding the Home Charges. And allowance must be made for its normal growth by providing a sum of Rs. 5½ lakhs by cutting down expenditure under the heads Medical and Public Health by a like amount. And none of the Police buildings even can wait for completion. But perhaps what is none the less surprising is that, while money cannot be found for such anti-malarial projects as the Bulli Bil Scheme, those projects and unproductive schemes which are being worked at a steadily increasing loss (which has mounted up from Rs. 13,000 in 1919-20 to more than Rs. 5 lakhs according to the revised estimate in 1921-22), such as the navigation

works included under revenue head XIII must have more and more money even under the present circumstances. Thus it will be found that a sum of about Rs. 8 lakhs has been budgeted simply for widening the Madaripore Bil Route. One feels inclined to inquire whether such commercial works were intended to be carried on at any cost (though proved unproductive) and if such commercial works have a guaranteed rate of toll which cannot be increased under any circumstances? Then, Sir, in this connection, another question which presents itself to those who have heard or read the recent pronouncements regarding the Grand Trunk Canal (not excepting the recent resolution of the Irrigation Department) is whether to keep the grandiose scheme in abeyance the expense for working a specially named dredger for six months is an indispensibly necessary item to budget, and if it is to be kept in abeyance for six months only, what value are we to attach to these pronouncements and to those assurances given by the Hon'ble the Member in charge when grants relating to it, *i.e.*, to the dredgers were voted on the last occasion?

But savings have indeed been made—made under such heads as Forests and Registration. Did not the Hon'ble the Finance Member declare a few weeks ago, while proposing the new taxes, that "it would be false economy to cut down the expenses of departments like Forests?" Yet all provisions for improvement and development of Forests have been omitted from the Budget for 1922-23. Is not the Registration Department a profit-earning department? Certainly; yet the provision of even the very inadequate sum of Rs. 75,000 for the revision of the pay of the sub-registrars has been withheld from this budget. And it has been thought fit to do so when all the other departments have had a revision of their pay and when receipts to the tune of Rs. 80,000 are anticipated over and above the revised estimate.

With these few remarks, I close my observations on the Budget.

Mr. TARIT BHUSAN ROY: Last year about this time, it was my privilege to congratulate the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr from the floor of this House, not because the financial statement presented by him was entitled to take rank as an illuminating or an inspiring production but because it afforded a clear indication of a genuine desire on his part to keep the spectre of taxation at an arms length. One year has since rolled by and we are on the threshhold of a new financial year. The Budget for 1922-23 is an adversity Budget, and the Finance Member with all the large available opening balance practically swallowed up, finds himself in an unenviable predicament for which he fully deserves our sympathy. He is faced with a heavy deficit; and not knowing how to meet it, he has embarked on a policy of taxation, not as a makeshift for tiding over a temporary and unforeseen crisis but as a permanent expedient for saving the administrative machinery from a hopeless breakdown. He has effected a saving of Rs. 68 lakhs over the original estimates, and such saving is attributed to retrenchment. If we add Rs. 63 lakhs which represent the

share of our provincial contribution, an annual obligation from which we have been generously exempted for three years by the central Goverment, it will appear that our savings from retrenchment and charity amount to one crore and thirty-one lakhs of rupees. It is fairly clear even to the meanest intellect that a straw thrown by one drowning man to another cannot be depended upon. We are still confronted with a deficit of Rs. 120 lakhs. This is the position which stares us in the face.

It is too much to expect us in seven days to make our way through the puzzling intricacies of a Budget which has perhaps taken the financial experts of Government as many months to design and elaborate. It will not be inexcusable if we feel tempted to characterise the financial statement as a piece of financial jugglery.

The Reforms Schemes, as every one knows, was hailed with hysterical exultation by the sober mind of India as heralding the dawn of true provincial autonomy When it was introduced, Bengal had an opening balance to her credit of Rs. 2¾ crores as compared with Rs. 3 crores in Bombay and Rs 53 lakhs in Madras The second year finds the credit balances of Bengal and Bombay reduced to Rs 63½ lakhs and Rs 87 lakhs, and Madras with a debit balance of Rs 66 lakhs The smaller provinces throughout India more or less unroll the same disquieting picture of dissipation of resources which years of prudent expenditure and careful economy had enabled them to husband In Bengal, Stamps and Excise show a substantial decline, *viz.*, Rs 22 lakhs and Rs. 23 lakhs respectively To attribute it solely to trade depression is nothing but an eye wash It may be a little factor, but it is hardly, if ever, the determining factor. An Anglo-Indian daily of Calcutta has observed: "Decrease in excise revenue and increased expenditure on the police both due largely to non-co-operation, loom as largely in the Bombay diagnosis as elsewhere."

How far dyarchy will be a success, I know not and I predict not. This is a matter upon which impartial history will record its verdict in the fulness of time. But this I think I know that the temple of provincial liberty which has been erected by the sympathetic statesmanship of England, has to be sustained and supported by pompous and costly pillars upon a weak and uncongenial soil.

As the edifice can not be allowed to totter to an early fall, its cracks must be plastered by fresh mortar and lime. Now taxation has been contemplated for providing fresh revenue in a country where, according to the illustrious authors of the Montford Report, the utmost taxable capacity has been reached. He must be deaf and blind and worse than deaf and blind who cannot perceive the simple fact that even under a serious stress, Government cannot go beyond a certain limit in taxation, without serious danger to the state. Where was there a really good Government whose finances were in bad order? Is there a better test in the long run of the condition of a people and the merits of a Government

than the state of the finance? And yet placed as we are, the normal condition of the finances of every province in India appears to be one of deficit and bankruptcy. I maintain that if that be the case, the Government is an unsuitable Government. If the experience of one year furnishes any guide and serves as a beacon, it reveals the fact, however unpalatable to those who have been pushed into eminence, honour and power by the Reforms and may, therefore, be unwilling to recognise it so soon, that it will cost infinitely more to govern the province than the Government can safely extract from the population by taxation.

This being so, our salvation lies more in permanent and tangible reduction in the cost of administration than in saddling a poor and overtaxed country with fresh burdens.

Every year will bring us perilously near the brink of the precipice if the necessity for economy and retrenchment on the lines indicated is not recognised. Years ago, Lord Salisbury very pertinently observed, "that as India must be bled, the lancet should be directed to the parts where the blood is congested or at least sufficient, not to those parts already feeble from the want of it."

Earnest as we all are for saving the Reforms and working them to a success, there is no other choice left to us but to cheapen the cost of administration.

I regret I do not share the complacent optimism of the Hon'ble Finance Member when he expects a revenue of Rs. 140 to 150 lakhs from Stamps and Court-fees. Time alone will show how far this hope is justified.

It will not serve any useful purpose to cast wistful looks towards Delhi in expectation of any further modicum of relief. Lord Reading—a resplendent meteor from the political firmament of England—is himself confronted with a financial crisis of graver magnitude.

Nothing can be expected from Delhi except additional taxation. It is a matter for surprise and regret that as the financial position becomes acuter, the recurring expenditure in the various departments, many of which are costly and unnecessary departments, are mounting up in rapid strides. A question put by me in the Council has recently elicited the information that the increase in the recurring expenditure in the Judicial, Executive and Police services due to the Reforms amounts to Rs. 12,96,928. The prospective increase in such recurring expenditure in the pay of ministerial officers is estimated at Rs. 31 lakhs. The total increase, therefore, reaches the astounding figure of about Rs. 44 lakhs. Can Bengal, with her depleted exchequer, afford to maintain such a costly administration? Has not the time come for ruthless economy in every department? The all-round revision in pay and allowance was decided upon to meet the additional cost of living. Is it not a fact that such cost

has gradually come down? Have not the prices of rice, cloth and other necessaries gone down appreciably?

I can certainly understand the meaning of revising the pay of the subordinate staff, but what is the justification for a Government, faced with a deficit, sanctioning heavy increases of salaries in higher grades? The need for it, however pressing two years ago, cannot in any conscience be said to be so now when conditions have shown a decided improvement.

The demand for the Indianisation of the services is based upon the ground of economy. If the substitution of indigenous to foreign agency in the administration of the country does not signify the employment of a cheaper agency the term "Indianisation of services" becomes a misnomer. It is a cruel satire if Bengal is called upon to maintain a top-heavy administration manned by Indians paid at the same lavish and extravagant scale as the members of the Heaven-born Service.

I for one will not support it. I will not miss a single opportunity to protest against this palpable inequity. The country will certainly refuse to submit to the yoke of a brown bureaucracy. Expensive and useless departments, some of which are being kept up and maintained only for the benefit of some pampered officers and their elaborate paraphernelia, must be abolished, if a deadlock is to be averted. A policy of extravagance is bound to bring its Nemesis in the long run. More I will not say.

I cannot congratulate the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education on the lack of a sense of proportion in framing his demands for the Calcutta University on the one hand and the Dacca University on the other. The former has been cast aside like the discarded elder son in a Hindu family with a non-recurring grant of Rs. 13,000, whereas the more favourite baby at Dacca has received a contribution of Rs. 9 lakhs. I do not certainly grudge this liberality to the tender infant, but I have equally a right to demand an adequate share of liberality for the child which has now grown into manhood.

Now, I come to deal with the department which has so often been characterised by no less a personage than the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea as the nation-building department. I will much rather call it a nation-killing department because it is this department from which malaria claims all its victims. The Council has a right to know what schemes during this one year have been formulated by the department—the nation-building department, inasmuch as no comprehensive and constructive projects has as yet been laid before us. It is a lamentable fact to which I am bound to invite the attention of this House that the price of quinine has considerably increased. I will place the figures before the House. The pre-war rate of quinine was Rs. 12 per lb. Since the war the price increased steadily, and as the price of imported quinine mounted up, the price of indigenous quinine rose in proportion till in 1920 it was

Rs. 33 per lb. and in 1921 Rs. 52 per lb. In pre-war times powdered quinine used to be sold at one pice per packet, but this practice was discontinued after the war broke out and tubes were substituted instead. A tube containing 20 tabloids of 4 grains each was sold at three annas per tube. The price of the tube eventually rose to four annas and it is at present eight annas.

Let us now turn to the triennial report on the working of hospitals and dispensaries in Bengal. It appears that among infectious diseases, malaria presented the largest number, namely, 1,619,239, 1,877,753 and 1,972,300 in the years 1917, 1918 and 1919, respectively. It is stated in the report that owing to the high price of quinine and the chronic poverty of mufassal hospitals and dispensaries, it was not possible to treat malaria patients with effective doses of quinine as recommended by the Provincial Malaria Committee. Only 8,244 lbs. of quinine were purchased by the mufassal hospitals and dispensaries from the juvenile jail in the three years at a total cost of Rs. 2,17,232. This quantity is highly inadequate for the effective treatment of nearly 5½ millions of malaria patients who attended the hospitals and dispensaries during this period.

[At this stage the member having reached the time-limit had to conclude his remarks.]

Colonel A. J. PUGH: If I thought that the Budget discussion was going to be over to-day, I should be tempted not to make any remark, at all. But I wish to say a few words. I wish to elicit from the Ministers their policy with regard to the future. As regards the Budget, I think the financial position ought to be more clearly stated, *e.g.*, the figures Rs. 10,22,45,000 (estimated expenditure), Rs. 1,20,80,000 (deficit), are nowhere to be found in the Budget statement. This is puzzling—till you make laborious calculations for yourself.

The position seems to be (omitting the contribution to Government of India) as follows:—

	We sanctioned for 1921-22	Revised Estimate for 1921-22	Budget for 1922-23.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Reserved ...	7,21,16	6,65,50	6,61,29
Transferred	3,70,58	3,55,38	3,42,80
Total ...	10,91,84	10,20,88	10,04,09

This shows that the present Budget is practically a repetition of the Revised Estimate of this year. It also shows an effort at retrenchment.

I regret to have to repeat what I said last year. After one year's work, I fail to see the architect's mind behind the future edifice. Where are the constructive proposals for the nation-building departments? If you really want to build, you must have some idea of what your building is going to be. It is no use complaining that there is no money. A good deal of spade work has to be done. In vain do we search the Budget for any indication of this.

The architect's plan must be prepared before the contractor's estimate for costs can be worked out. And before you can work out a reliable estimate of costs, you cannot complain that the tax-payer does not pay.

Take for instance the Grand Canal Scheme (p. 69). I find that some alteration in the project is contemplated by Government. For this purpose a sum of "Rs. 1,09,000" has been provided even in this deficit Budget, "for the preparation of a revised plan and estimate of the project." This provision shows that there is a mind behind the project and therefore money has been provided for these preliminary expenses, so that the project may really materialise. But can I say this with regard to the nation-building departments?" Except vague promises of vague projects made by the Ministers from time to time, we have had nothing definite. They do not seem anxious even to ask for money for preliminary expenses necessary to give shape to their projects.

For instance, we find at page 50, Public Health Establishment—"Owing to the projects for small sanitary schemes *not having matured in time* to admit of the full provision being utilised," the Minister congratulates himself on having effected a saving of Rs. 67,000. Here was money voted for sanitary purposes and the Department was unable to mature even "small sanitary schemes" in the course of 12 months. As to big sanitary schemes, I suppose the less said the better.

Take again the Minister for Education.

At page 45, I find, "the decrease in the revised estimate as compared with the sanctioned estimate is due to the payment of *smaller grants to local bodies for primary education*." As to higher education also, one tries in vain to find any indication of the intention of the Minister to give effect to the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. A good deal of preliminary work will have to be undertaken, amendment of the present University Act will have to be made, if it is the policy of the Minister to give effect to it. But everything seems to be indefinite. We do not know what his policy is going to be. Dr. Sadler and his colleagues were brought out here during the height of the war, amid extreme perils of the sea, as it was understood that the matter was extremely urgent. But about five years have rolled by without any visible result. Instead of giving us an idea of the *work* in progress, we get a long list of the *works* in progress! As to the work of the Department of Agriculture, etc., the less said the better. At one time, during the year, it was even suggested

that the Fisheries Department should be abolished! It would have meant less work for the persons concerned, but it would have been a monstrous injustice to Bengal where fish is a staple food.

Under Agricultural Experiments we gave Rs. 66,000 to the Minister for provision for the distribution of improved paddy and jute seed. Not a single pice seems to have been spent. We gave him at his special request Rs. 5,000 for "provision for the establishment of five new farms." Not only has nothing been done or spent, but the Minister seems to have abandoned the idea of having any more "new farms," for he has asked for no provision in the Budget. The work of the Co-operative Credit Department is indicated by the provision of only Rs. 6,580 for "Grants to Co-operative Societies all over Bengal." I wonder if there is anybody directing that Department who appreciates the importance of a subject like this.

For industrial development also, I should have expected the Minister to give us some indication of the policy he intends to follow. At present there is a great deal of *swadeshi* spirit roused in Bengal. Why not take advantage of it, make use of it and encourage honest *swadeshi*! Home handicrafts should be encouraged. Home Industries Associations should be established, small industries as well as big industries should get every assistance which is in the power of a Government to give.

This is not a pleasant resume of what I find behind the Budget. I have not referred to-day to the reserved subjects, because those in charge have to take orders from above. We are not responsible for what they do. I can only hope they will be able to allow a sufficient portion of the surplus due to fresh taxation to be appropriated to transferred subjects.

There is one other subject which I feel I cannot pass over. It is of the utmost importance that we should have a properly organised department for efficient publicity and propaganda work. When in the name of patriotism people are being misled by agitators with misrepresentations, insidious lies, wild rumours, racial attacks and covert sedition, it is surely the duty of the State to spend money on an organised propaganda to expose the methods and aims of these agitators and to take the people into its confidence. No doubt this Council refused money last year to the then Publicity Bureau. But I read that more as a protest against the inefficiency of that Bureau than against the principle involved; when a war of calumny against the Government has been publicly declared, one of the best ways of meeting it is to have an efficient organisation for publicity and propaganda, if possible under non-official control, so that you can secure a large measure of public support for its work. I therefore strongly urge on the Government to make sufficient provision in the Budget for this work.

Mr. S. M. BOSE: It is not possible, with the short time at my disposal, to speak much on the Budget and I shall confine my remarks to the transferred departments.

My first complaint is that not a single pice has been kept for medical schools. The Government last year were pleased to appoint a Committee to consider the matter and I believe the Committee has made its report and that it recommended that a medical school should be first started at Mymensingh. The district board has made a grant of Rs. 27,000 for acquiring land and acquisition proceedings have been started there. The scheme has already been approved by the Government over a year ago. Why then this delay? I ask why has not money been found in this Budget? It will be a matter of profound disappointment if the construction of the school be not started this year. Then I wish to know why nothing has been kept to start a medical school at Chittagong. I understand that the local people are anxious to start a school of a cheap type and are prepared to provide for the land. I am greatly disappointed that nothing is provided in the Budget for a school there.

Next, I wish to draw the attention of the Government to the grave injustice done to the sub-registrars. Last year the sum of Rs. 75,000 was provided for increment of their pay, but even this inadequate amount was not spent. The sub-registrars have long been protesting against their miserable pay. In every other department there has been revision of pay. The sub-registrars come from a very respectable class. In the mufassal they are in many places the sole representatives of Government. They have to keep up appearances on a miserable pay, which under present conditions is utterly inadequate. They have urged and entreated the Government to come to their relief. The Government has been promising relief for a long time but nothing has really been done. For how long will they have to wait for belated justice? It is not as if there is not a substantial income from that Department. In 1918-19 the net income was Rs. 7 lakhs 80 thousand, in 1919-20, Rs. 12 lakhs 50 thousand, in 1920-21, Rs. 11 lakhs 80 thousand. I earnestly press on the hard-hearted Finance Member the absolute necessity of a grant for increment of pay in the Registration Department.

Coming then to the head of Education, I wish to draw the attention of the Hon'ble Minister to the urgent needs of the Calcutta University and especially to the appeal for funds by Sir P. C. Roy for the College of Science.

I also press for a substantial grant to be earmarked for the development of women's education, both primary and secondary. It is well known that no educational institution, specially one for women, can ever be self-supporting. There is a large and a growing demand for women's education and I hold it is the first duty of Government to help in this matter.

I have dwelt at length on some of the crying needs of the transferred departments. Many of us feel that in the allocation of grants,

the paramount needs of these departments have not been adequately realized It is a matter of supreme importance that these departments should not be starved. I hope, therefore, that should there be any surplus after the Bills are passed, we shall be allocated at least two-thirds of the amount. This is the earnest hope and desire of all of us, and I trust that our appeal will not be made in vain

Mr. KRISHNA CHANDRA RAY CHAUDHURI: I shall confine myself to a few criticisms on the Budget presented to us by the Hon'ble the Finance Member. In dealing with the Revenue side, I cannot help expressing my regret that the principle of taxation hitherto adopted both by the central Government as well as the provincial Government cannot be characterised as sound from the point of view of the Indian raiyats and working classes who comprise 95 per cent. of the nation. I believe that a large portion of the wealth and income now enjoyed by private individuals is the result of the exploitation of the community. The instrument of taxation may be usefully employed by the State to obtain return of some portion of their exaction to be used for the purpose of improving the conditions and lives of the exploited classes. There is no denying the fact that the State is a partner in all productions and in all private enterprises. It is only by the protection that the law gives that private individuals can enjoy their wealth and income. The State, including municipalities is, therefore, entitled to participate in the profits of industry and in the rents from land Taxation is not rightly understood in the country and should not be regarded as a necessary evil. Taxation, when justly levied for necessary purposes, is a blessing to the community.

I would lay down four broad principles of taxation:—

(*a*) Taxation should be in proportion to ability to pay and to the protection and benefit conferred on the individuals by the State; (*b*) no taxation should be imposed which encroaches on the individuals' means to satisfy their physical and primary needs; (*c*) taxation should aim at securing the unearned increment of wealth for communal use; and (*d*) taxation should be levied on unearned incomes and should aim deliberately at preventing the retention of great fortunes in private hands.

Judged from these basic principles, our raiyats and working classes who pay the major portion of the salt tax, excise and land revenue through landlords, import duties on clothing, do not get sufficient return at all. The Police which absorbs a large portion of the revenue simply oppresses them. The Education Department which takes a big slice does not affect the raiyats as there is little or no primary education, neither does the Army benefit them. The raiyat derives some benefit from the administration of Justice and the Public Health Department. The Agricultural Department with all its model farms and schools and forecasting branch, do not affect him because he is too ignorant to

appreciate them. What is wanted is a sort of compulsion to the landowners to see that lands are improved. They live high lives, incur debts, and are forced to sell their property. I say that those who fail to do their duties to the raiyats should retire in favour of the State and accept 6 per cent. bonds. The State is in a position to create peasant proprietors and to be actually partners of the peasants. The State will treat the tenants as humane capitalists, treat their workmen by providing housing, medicines, and even bonuses State co-partnership with peasants will result in increased yield of crops and bring in much larger income than fixed land revenue derives. In almost all the new countries, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa, the State derives very large incomes from business undertakings. This the Indian Government recognised by taking over railways which brings in handsome revenues. The Government should have taken over the coal-mining rights which they could have secured at nominal prices when their own geologist proved coal in districts like Burdwan and Manbhum. At the present output of coal, namely, 23 million tons, the royalty-owners derive 56 lakhs of rupees a year at four annas royalty per ton. I maintain that had the Government been wise they would have retained a great portion of it which now goes to the pockets of few who never had any idea of the underground rights and whose present income is therefore, absolutely unearned.

I would also suggest a sort of levy on capital. In Bengal 20 crores of rupees were put in joint stock companies soon after the war and a very large portion of it was war wealth It should have been taxed

Mr. D. C. CHOSE: This is done by Socialist Governments.

Mr. KRISHNA CHANDRA RAY CHAUDHURI: This has been done in European countries and many other countries.

Then, there should be death or inheritance duties. In my opinion, notwithstanding diverse laws of inheritance, this is the only country where the State should take a big slice of all fortunes and properties not infrequently left to adopted sons.

Mr. AJOY CHUNDER DUTT: May I rise to a point of order? Is this relevant in a discussion of the Budget?

Mr. KRISHNA CHANDRA RAY CHAUDHURI: This is a principle of taxation.

Mr. D. C. CHOSE: This will be germane when taxation proposals are before the House.

Babu SURENDRA NATH MALLIK: Is he saying something of taxation coming next year?

Mr. KRISHNA CHANDRA RAY CHAUDHURI: I say this for future guidance. Heavy succession duties should be levied. We all know about the crushing cost of litigation over so many succession cases. These succession cases, like the Jheria Raj succession case, mean fortune to lawyers and those who live upon litigation. No one would grudge if a big slice goes to the State, and money is diverted from the pockets of remote heirs to the State coffer.

My next point is unearned income. Think of the crores of rupees lately made by land-owners and middlemen who exacted unheard-of prices for holdings of Calcutta and suburban lands. Land that was not worth Rs. 500 a cottah fetched Rs. 5,000 in a cottah in many cases. I think the President himself knows something about it. (Cries of: "Order, order.") I beg your pardon. Sir, is it right that because a Mullick or a Seal bought a marshy piece of land for a song in the early 'fifties, generations after generations will pay tolls as rents? What have they done to improve their lands? Nothing. It has been done by the community, and that community instead of getting any return must be made to pay crushing rents—they must eat and breed in a single room, whereas palaces and parks are enjoyed by a few whose ancestors acquired plots which then had no value. While the Government suffered for want of funds to carry on works of vital importance, crores and crores went to the pockets of war profiteers, so much so that Rs. 20 crores were invested in new companies in two or three years. A democratic Government would have stepped in and made a levy on this war wealth, but no, our Government would not depart from their tradition and would simply impose indirect taxation which affects the raiyats and the working classes.

Dr. JATINDRA NATH MOITRA: In the language of the Hon'ble Mr Kerr, the general financial situation of the Government of Bengal has been the subject of frequent discussion in this Council during recent months and the broad outline of the situation is only too familiar to all of us. The Budget, as presented, therefore, does not take us by surprise. In fact in my Budget speech last year I said, "many members have lamented on this year's deficit, but I warn my countrymen that this deficit is going to be recurring unless we can unsettle the settlement arrived at by the Meston Committee." This I said last year and I repeat the same with redoubled emphasis this year too so far as our future is concerned even with the taxes present and future. The most remarkable feature of this year's budget is a decrease in receipts. On two items the sanguine expectations of the Finance Member have not been fulfilled. The last Budget estimated the revenue at Rs. 10 crores and 47 lakhs but the actual receipts would not exceed Rs. 971 lakhs leaving a deficit of Rs. 76,00,000. Two items are mainly responsible for this deficit—Stamps and Excise. The

Stamp duty which was estimated to bring in Rs. 287 lakhs yielded only Rs. 265 lakhs while Excise duty expected to bring in Rs. 205 lakhs could not actually bring in more than Rs. 182 lakhs. It cannot be gainsaid that the influence of the non-co-operation movement has been primarily responsible for this deficit, although we are made to believe that trade depression alone is responsible for this decrease. However that may be, the fact is that this Budget does not show any indications of a broad and generous programme for the improvement of the conditions of life of the people and the only solace to us is that this Budget with the income, which the three taxes are expected to bring forth will go only for the bare provision of the needs of the administration as I am certain that the sanguine expectation of the Finance Member so far as the realisation of taxes is concerned will not be sufficiently fulfilled and the Hon'ble Member should think of some more tax from this moment. Coming to special items, one cannot but be surprised at finding the onward march in expenditure on Police from year to year in spite of the dismal condition of the finances over several departments. The actuals on police, for 1920-21, came up to Rs. 1,65,47,145, but the Budget provision for 1922-23 shows the amount of Rs. 1,89,87,000 or an increase of Rs. 24,39,855. This includes a provision of Rs. 2,54,000 on account of extra police arrangements to meet the present political situation which has for its characteristic, "non-violence" even under the greatest provocation' Comment is not only needless but superfluous. Under the head of sanitation the original budget estimate was Rs. 19,46,000 and the revised estimate was Rs. 16,39,000. Obviously much less has been spent by the Hon'ble Member in charge Last year I pointed out that the phrases "schemes are not yet matured" did not mean anything else excepting a lack of initiative and possibly the same lethargy which was least expected from one who has been showing his youthful activities in political life for upwards of fifty years. But I forget physiological decline cannot for ever be stopped.

One other item that comes uppermost in my mind is the extremely unjust distribution of the people's money to the two Universities of Bengal. While Calcutta University, the *alma mater* of almost all the non-official members of this Council, is going to be forced to close her doors for want of funds; the Minister has thought it wise to put Rs. 9,00,000 in the coffers of her newly-born sister, *viz.*, the Dacca University, and this I learn, in spite of the repeated demands of the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor. Far be it from me the desire to cut down expenses on education from any item, but the Hon'ble Minister owes an explanation to the graduates of his University as to what has made him so oblivious to the needs of the Calcutta University. May I ask him in all humility what has the Calcutta University done to incur his displeasure? I pause for a reply.

In conclusion, I would like to know from the Ministers in what way their works show a marked progress so as to justify their maintenance by the people's money. If they say that they cannot do anything worthy of their name and dignity owing to financial embarrasment, would it not be honest of them to spare the poor tax-payers of this country for the time being so far as they themselves are concerned?

I hope they have read with pleasure and profited by the Budget speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Madhusudan Das, Minister for Bihar, and I would like to know in what way do the views of our Ministers agree or differ from him.

Babu KISHORI MOHAN CHAUDHURI: I am sorry I cannot congratulate the Hon'ble the Finance Member on the present deficit Budget in the second year of the Reforms. As soon as the Reforms were introduced in January, 1921, there was a deficit. After the reconstitution of the several provinces on the annulment of the partition of Bengal, for about 8 years Bengal could maintain its financial prosperity, but as soon as the much coveted Reforms were introduced our misfortunes began. Last year, when a pretty heavy cash balance was proposed to be diverted, some of us complained of it as an act of spoliation. Over Rs. 60 lakhs were reserved for improvement of sanitation and over a crore for educational development. We proposed not to divert this heavy sum. It was not heeded then and we were ridiculed; but just after a year we see that we have exhausted our resources and we again meet with a heavy deficit. This year there has been a retrenchment of Rs. 68 lakhs and this could have been effected not at our suggestions and as a matter of fact, the expenditure on some of the heads which were restored had to be stopped. We were however blamed for disallowing the Police budget one day and allowing it on another day. I understand that there was a heavy deficit of nearly Rs. 78 lakhs in our revenue and that was the reason why Government were forced to apply the pruning-knife. We were not heeded simply because Government were not convinced of the necessity of taking precautionary measures till circumstances forced Government to do the same thing as we suggested. I sympathise with the Government, but we say that this precautionary measure ought to have been taken in time. We suggested last year that if any further taxation was necessary, we might do it then, but it was not heeded. Even, in the beginning of this year there was an assurance that there would be no taxation and very soon we would get a very substantial grant from the Government of India. Again there is a deficit and we are told that by taxation you must raise Rs. 140 lakhs. In Stamps and Excise there has been a loss of over Rs. 44 lakhs. The Hon'ble Member thinks that in Excise there would be some gain next year by about Rs. 8 lakhs. But if there is again a set-back and it

we lose the money as we lost this year, what would be our position? If we lose the money in stamp duty, if we cannot realise the full amount to our expectation of Rs. 140 lakhs, what would be our position? We are also told that we should be very cautious and we should act as business men and should not be led away by the force of circumstances from doing our duty. I say, Sir, do not deceive us. You say that you would be able to meet the deficit, but you have a remission of Rs. 63 lakhs for three years only. After three years you do not get any remission. Every province in India is in deficit and you may not get any substantial gain from redistribution. I expected a bold declaration of principle which ought to be followed in dealing with the financial position, but I am sadly disappointed. I need not make any suggestion as I see there is no money. I do not know how to improve our financial situation. My friend Mr. Krishna Chandra Ray Chaudhuri has helped Mr. Kerr with some suggestions, but I do not know how far it would be successful. If we have got no money how are we to manage our own affairs? If we are to borrow we must have to arrange for repayment. There is no loan policy before us, but we are told to raise the money by taxation in order to help that policy. We are not aware as to why the several standing committees have not been able to make any real suggestion for retrenchment. I think Rai Bahadur Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta is right. That is not the way in which we should do our work. Let us have an independent committee as he said for retrenchment. This is a very valuable suggestion which ought to be taken into consideration. I will not blame my friend for not spending money on nation-building departments as I see he has got no money to do that.

The other day, I moved a resolution in this Council recommending that half the increments of pay and allowances granted to Government officers be withheld till financial conditions improved, but the Government did not think it fit to accept it. It is a common principle of household management that when there is any financial difficulty the expenses are cut down in every conceivable manner.

Last year we passed a resolution in this Council by an overwhelming majority that the number of Members of the Executive Council be reduced to two. Although a year has elapsed no decision appears to have been arrived at.

We also suggested that as there were several Members in the Executive Council and three Ministers, the post of Divisional Commissioners might be abolished. A committee has been appointed to consider the proposal and its decision is still awaited.

We also pressed for reduction of expenditure on police. A committee has been appointed to inquire and advise as to the way in which retrenchment can be effected in that department. This committee also has not yet been able to submit its recommendations. I am

personally of opinion, that there is ample scope for economy in this department.

[Here the member reached his time-limit and resumed his seat.]

Kumar SHIB SHEKHARESWAR RAY: I should congratulate the Hon'ble the Finance Member upon the hidden note of jubilation that runs through his introductory speech on the occasion of his presentation of the Budget. I should say that he is the happy possessor of almost supernatural power to be able to transform that deficit Budget into a surplus one in the course of the next few days. I wish I could agree with him when he says, "the Finance Department has been compelled to prune the departmental budgets ruthlessly in spite of protests from Members and Ministers." But from the production itself we are led to suppose that perhaps the Hon'ble Finance Member had begun his pruning first with the transferred departments and then by the time he had come to the reserved departments, his pruning-knife had got blunted. He deplores that now he and his Secretary are the two most unpopular people in the Writers' Buildings. But I can assure him that there is no reason for this grieving over his lost popularity. He has not lost any. For the Hon'ble Members of Government have got their proper quota owing to his blunted knife, and as for the Hon'ble Ministers who could not even manage to spend their current year's poor allotments, they must thank him for ridding them of unnecessary encumbrances next year. I congratulate the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr for having such eminently reasonable Ministers to deal with. Our Hon'ble Ministers by not utilising the amounts sanctioned for their respective departments have also helped Mr. Kerr a good deal in having a much larger closing balance than was expected. While in the Police and other reserved spending departments, perhaps the Hon'ble Members, save and except our tractable Revenue Member, had proved too obdurate and no such remarkable decrease is visible. And, Sir, some of the economies effected by our Ministers are also very instructive. As for instance under the head "Agriculture." We find that about Rs. 79,000 less than the sanctioned estimate has been actually spent and in the explanation we are relieved to learn that the small decrease in the revised estimate is partly due to the non-utilisation in full of the provision of Rs. 66,000 for the distribution of improved paddy and jute seeds. Thus, all the officers in that department had drawn their increased salaries, had enjoyed their proper travelling allowances, but only they did not care to distribute the much talked-of *Indrasails* and *Kakaya Bombai* seeds. Then, again, to quote another glaring instance of economy effected by another esteemed Minister, is the non-utilisation of the lump provision of Rs. 75,000 for the revision of pay of the sub-registrars. The promise to them was broken in the current year, and being once broken it has no binding effect, and so no provision has been made for

any such revision in the next year's Budget. I congratulate the Hon'ble Minister for having outgrown that old saying, "do as you would be done by" and for tenaciously holding to his own sumptuous salary, and effecting economy in the case of his poorly-paid subordinates. Beautiful economy surely! Apparently the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr has a grievance against the Standing Committees for not receiving support from them in this matter of retrenchments. But are the Standing Committees really so much to be blamed? For, this power of devising possible retrenchments was vested in them only in December last and they got the departmental budgets in January and so they had not even a month, and I do not know how many sittings, to consider these matters. I have been in the Police Retrenchment Committee for the last six months and still our Committee has not been able even to gather necessary informations, let alone suggest any definite retrenchments. Being in the Committee so long, I am convinced now, that no retrenchments can be effected unless the officials help us. For, it is the officials alone, who through their long intimate contact, know what are essentials and what are not, and if in any suggested retrenchment they have no heart, it is impossible to effect it. But we have gathered so far that economies are possible and decent economies too, and that to suggest them definitely, a critical and detailed examination of the administration and its machinery is necessary and official co-operation is essential. But I am constrained to say that there has been a lamentable lack of official co-operation in this Police Retrenchment affair. To substantiate what I have said just now, let me quote a recent instance. Sir, besides Burma, Bengal is the only province which is the happy possessor of a military police. We wanted to know the reason as to why such military police force is not maintained in any other province in India and how the work is managed in these provinces. Our Committee thought such information essentially necessary for our guidance in this matter. But, Sir, would you believe what answer we have received from the Chief Secretary? The Chief Secretary tells us, "it is impossible to answer questions relating to other provinces," that is all! No information is sought for from the other provincial Governments, no attempt even is made, and the interrogatory is brushed aside as impossible to answer. When we meet with such courtesy even from high officials, how is it possible for us to work and make any useful suggestion? And Sir, we are sure, as I have already said, that retrenchments are possible. For instance, in this very military police, out of a total strength of about 850 men and officers, never in its history have more than 220 of the force been employed, during any given period, for quelling disturbances. And, Sir, the major portion of this force is stationed at Dacca and Buxar, but in recent years it has been seen that most of the disturbances necessitating military help have occurred in the mill areas in West Bengal where, again, only last,

year, we considerably strengthened the ordinary police. So, Sir, it is apparent that the military police can be reduced, if not abolished altogether, and hence this evasive reply of the Chief Secretary. Sir, when I am talking of possible retrenchments, I cannot help making a passing reference to a small matter which would illustrate what detailed examination is necessary for retrenchments. We have got a Police Training College at Sarda, and ponies are provided there for Sub-Inspector cadets, one pony for every 4 cadets; and the superior officers under training are expected, under the rules, to have their own ponies. Now what was the number of Government ponies there last year? Twenty-eight, while the number of Sub-Inspectors under training were at one time only two, and at no time more than fifteen. But these 28 ponies should suffice for 112 cadets. Even this year only ten cadets have been recruited. Sir, for each pony the Government has to spend about Rs. 600 a year. We understand why so many ponies are kept, for polo and pig-sticking are always enjoyable things, specially when one goes to Sarda on travelling allowance to combine business and pleasure together. But, Sir, this is about a digression, a retrenchment digression, a mere hint that economy is possible, if the Hon'ble Members in charge and their high subordinates are really reasonable and responsible. Surely it cannot be said that they know nothing of these things, these petty holes in the pocket of the Bengal Government. But, the Hon'ble Members are not amenable to any reason that emanates from the non-official benches and their responsibility, too, at present, lies 6,000 miles off; so we are absolutely helpless to stem the tide of the ever-growing extravagance.

For a few months past, we have been hearing much of prospective loans, and I was eagerly expecting such proposals in the Budget. But save and except a loan of Rs. 32 lakhs, apart from a fresh Government of India Loan of Rs. 50 lakhs for Irrigation, there is no other indication of any other loan. An outlay on irrigation and navigation canals can very well be said to be "reproductive," but what has been actually the condition in our country? If we turn to Revenue Heads XIII and XIV and Expenditure Heads 14, 15, 16 and 19, we learn that even under such "reproductive" items as navigation and irrigation, the Government has singularly failed to make them revenue-paying: while we spend Rs. 58,40,000 in interests and working expenses, we get only Rs. 11,56,000 and thus lose Rs. 46,84,000 annually. In the light of these realities, it is imperative that the whole problem of navigation, irrigation and drainage canals should be thoroughly re-examined by independent experts from Home.

There is another matter to which I would like to refer on this occasion. This is the last time that Sir Henry Wheeler presents the budgets of his departments. It has been our unpleasant duty to often criticise his budgets on the ground of extravagance, but, Sir, there is

no denying the fact that he has been able to place his departments in as efficient a position as possible, and though we had often occasions to quarrel with him, I have no hesitation in saying that, by his retirement, we will lose one of the ablest administrators that we had in Bengal for a long time. I pray to God that he may be spared long and that his exceptional abilities may be further utilised to the immense benefit of the Government.

Adjournment.

The Council then adjourned till Tuesday, the 28th February, 1922, at 3 P.M. at the Town Hall, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act.

THE Council met in the Council Chamber in the Town Hall, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 28th February, 1922, at 3 P.M.

Present:

The Deputy-President in the Chair, the Hon'ble the four Members of the Executive Council, the Hon'ble the three Ministers, and 85 nominated and elected members.

Discussion of the Budget.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi ABDUS SALAM: This is the second year of the Reform era ushered in with such pomp and pageantry, and acclaimed by a section of our countrymen as promising the dawn of the millennium. Wisdom in this world takes long in coming, but in this instance, it has come too quickly to our people. Enthusiasts for Reforms have been sobered and are already ominously shaking their heads; and non-believers in Reforms have been satisfied in their disbelief. Moslem moderates, like myself, who are neither enthusiasts nor disbelievers in the Reforms, but who care only that in all constitutional and administrative arrangements, Moslem communal rights and privileges should be safeguarded in the Legislative Councils and other self-governing local bodies, and in the Public Services, have reason to feel anxious for the future of the great Moslem community in Bengal, in view of the exhibition of partial, and passionate *swarajist* spirit that we have already seen in this Council in connection with the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill and other affairs. Sir, the spell is gone, the charm is flown, and the vision of an Indian millennium dreamt of by Akbar, and revisualised by the author of the Reforms, Mr. Montagu, has vanished into thin air. And need I say this dillusionment has been partly hastened also by the doleful budgets presented by the Hon'ble Finance Member both last year and this year and by the menace of fresh taxation. And camouflage it as you may, we all realise that the Reforms mean not only a succession of deficit budgets, of provincial and imperial bankruptcy, of endless additions in taxation and of heavy outlay of expenditure on the Services, both Imperial and Provincial, and other useless constitutional costly toys and baubles, but the Reforms mean also an ever-recurring crop of mischievous unrest which is not only costing us extra money for extra police and extra jails, but is disturbing the placid calm of Eastern life, undermining the foundations of our time-cherished social organisations and institutions, and is threatening to lead us down to the infernal abyss

of lawless anarchy. Sir, the present disturbed political situation which is seriously affecting our financial position, as disclosed by the fall in Excise and Stamp receipts, and by increase in police and jail expenditure, is epitomised pithily by the lines of the Persian poet, Hafiz:—

> "*In che shoraist kai dar daur-i-qamr mi binim*
> *Hama afaq pur az fitnah o shar mi binim*"
> (What is this disturbance that I decry in the revolution of the moon?
> I see the whole world is full of discord and wrangling.)

They say Western chemicals are nearly bursting our Eastern bottles and every friend of India is therefore bound by adoption of timely measures to prevent the dreaded explosion which would be not only destructive of progressive and civilised Government, but would make a clean sweep of individual life, liberty and property. At such a time of political unrest and crisis, may I, on behalf of myself and many of my colleagues in this Council, state that the departure of the Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler who has administered the police department so efficiently and tactfully, and whose administrative capacity is of the highest order will be seriously felt as a loss? His has been a great and towering personality in this Council by reason of his intellectual powers, and his masterly speeches, lucidly expounding the policy of Government, have been intellectual treats to many of us in this Council. We hope and trust his unique administrative experience, his vast knowledge of the serious current problems of India will be utilised in higher spheres of Indian administration, and that the Muhammadan cause will find a place in his heart.

Now I will offer a few general remarks about some of the prominent features of the financial Budget, as they strike me.

It is to be regretted that the starting balance of last year amounting to over Rs 3 crores has already been drawn upon so heavily, and will nearly disappear towards the close of the year. It is certainly not sound finance to exhaust one's reserve balance in order to meet current expenses of ordinary administration, but in this particular case, the absorption of previous years' balance is not only unsound finance, but is a cruel wrong, as the balances were patiently accummulated during a series of years and were made up of generous doles from the Government of India for certain set purposes, such as primary and agricultural educational and sanitation.

Another striking feature is this. The Hon'ble Finance Member in hot haste, at the beginning of last year, repaid a loan of about Rs. 83 lakhs, which carried interest at 3½ per cent., to the Government of India, though he could under the Devolution Rules spread the repayment over 12 years. And now it appears from the present Budget that he contemplates taking a fresh loan from the Government of India of about Rs. 80 lakhs, at presumably higher rate of interest as the money-market now is tighter. The wisdom of such financial somersaults seems

to be dubious. The Hon'ble Finance Member had the misfortune of presenting a deficit Budget last year and he has to repeat the same doleful performance of presenting a deficit Budget this year. I sympathise with his troubles, but do not share his optmism for next year. I apprehend the receipts for Excise and Stamps have been overestimated in the present Budget, as I see no sign of abatement of the present non-co-operation movement which is reducing litigation and consumption of liquor. I may be wrong and the Hon'ble Finance Member may be right; in any case, it is an interesting sight to me to see the Hon'ble Finance Member unwittingly in spiritual company with the Persian poet-philosopher, Omar Khayyam, who holds forth:—

> "*Imroz tura dastrasi-i-farda nist.*
> *Oandasha-i-fardaat bajuz sauda nist*"
> (To-day thou hast no power over to-morrow,
> So anxiety about the morrow is sheer madness)

So I leave the Hon'ble Finance Member to his happy optimism, and I take the liberty of making some general observations regarding the allocation of revenue to different heads. Broadly speaking of the total revenue receipts of nearly Rs. 9 crores odd lakhs, more than Rs. 5 crores is absorbed by General Administration, Administration of Justice, Police, Jails, Original Civil Buildings, Pensions, Stationery and Printing, leaving nearly over Rs. 4½ crores available for the improvement of Education, Sanitation, Medical Relief, Agriculture, etc. etc. Of this, it would appear only Rs. 2,10,72,000 or less than 25 per cent. of the total revenue receipts is devoted to Education, Health, Medical, Agriculture and Industries, including costs of their special technical establishments. This does not appear to be satisfactory. Again, as has already been tersely pointed out by Colonel Pugh, some of our Ministers could not even utilise several sanctioned provisions of money because they could not mature their schemes. Sir, this sort of plea is neither fair to our constituents nor creditable to the Ministers concerned who are paid handsomely and helped by highly-paid experts in order to use their brains for formulating policies, programmes and schemes. People may be apt under the circumstances, to exclaim in the slightly altered Persian line:—

> "*Vazir-i-chunin mashir-i-chunan*"
> (Such are the Ministers and such are their expert -advisers)

There is one other remark that I wish to offer in regard to the Education budget. I personally have confidence in the fairness of the Hon'ble Education Minister. I have reason to know he is a man with breadth of mind and with a spirit of "give and take." I have no doubt that Muslim educational interests are fairly safe in his hands; yet I should like to see in future educational budgets definite information as to how much of provincial revenue has been spent on Muhammadan educational purposes (save and except the Madrassahs which are already separately shown in the Budget), and on scholarships to Muhammadan

students. May I, in this connection, hope and trust that the Hon'ble Minister for Education will redeem the promise given by Government long, long ago, in response to insistent Muhammadan cries, to establish a first-grade Muhammadan college in Calcutta? In this connection, the Moslem may well heave a sigh, and hold forth with the Persian poet, Saadi :—

> "*Gufta gufta man shudam bisiar go*
> *Laikan ektan az shuma nadivam asrar ja*"
> (Babbling, babbling, I have become a time worn babbler,
> But I find none of you heeding my babble.)

Rai Dr. HARIDHAN DUTT Bahadur: The Budget that has been placed before us, as we all know, is a deficit budget, and as such, it is extremely discouraging to those who wanted that at the present moment we would be able to do something which would justify our expectations to make the Reforms a success. Actually at this time of the year, only a year ago, we expected that in the year 1922, adequate provision would be made for what Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea had called 'the nation-building departments. We are extremely disappointed to find that 12 months have now passed away, and we are actually far away from the desired land, and in fact, no better off than we were last year. Looking at the prospects, we are disappointed to find that they are very, very gloomy. We realise that all depends upon the amount that will be raised by fresh taxation. It has been suggested that the revenue from fresh taxation would be realised from three different channels; these are under our consideration, and will be taken up ere long, but what we have been able to make out would justify us in saying that there is not much likelihood of the total amount that has been estimated from these three sources, being fully realised. The prospects regarding the Amusement Tax are not at all right. The amount that has been estimated to be derived from the other two sources also, I believe, is not very hopeful. No taxation from any other source has yet been suggested, and I personally do not think that the country is in a position to bear any extra taxation; therefore, I am disposed to think that the prospects are very gloomy. The only way, therefore, to achieve our object would be to secure money by cutting down all superfluous expenditure. In the Budget which has been presented before us by the Finance Member, undoubtedly attempts have been made at retrenchment, but we have been told by the Hon'ble Mr Kerr that the Budget has been framed "in a spirit of rigid and parsimonious economy." I am quoting from his speech where he said, "that the budget provides for the bare needs of the administration." Sir, I have tried to examine the budget from beginning to end but I regret I cannot agree with him, and I do not think that his remarks are perfectly justified. If one would take the trouble to go through the different items that have been budgeted, he would be surprised to find a good many items which cannot come under the category of "bare needs of the administration." I will give some

instances. Provision has been made for Rs. 1,64,000 as a lump sum for the presidency police, details of which are not available. It is noted so in the foot-note "details not available." Then I find that we have an addition of two Presidency Magistrates in Calcutta; those who are familiar with the police courts in Calcutta will at once tell you that the number of police cases are decreasing; so I fail to understand why the number of Presidency Magistrates has been increased. Then the new traffic court has been located in a miserable looking house for which a very high rent is being paid—something like five to six hundred rupees a month. I do not think there is any necessity for this. Then I find there is a provision of Rs. 90,000 and Rs. 4,000 against Rs. 80,000 and Rs. 2,000 in the present year for the band establishment of His Excellency the Governor. I do not object to the band establishment but what I do object to is the increase from Rs 2,000 to Rs. 4,000 and from Rs. 80,000 to Rs. 90,000 this year Certainly this is not a bare necessity, especially in the present state of our finances.

Then again, I find Rs. 5,000 for the doubtful utility for an advisory Committee for Indian students. Next, I find a grant to the Indian Society of Oriental Art of Rs. 19,800; perhaps I would be taken to task by some of the lovers of Oriental Art for objecting to this, but my humble opinion is that in this year of stress and difficulty, an expenditure of nearly Rs. 20,000 for the Indian Society of Oriental Art is not a bare necessity. Then again I find Rs 40,000 for the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education at Dacca; if my information is correct, there is no necessity for this; it might be handed over to the Dacca University or other body. There are a host of other similar items, lump sum provisions, under the head of grants to different educational institutions. There is a large provision for female teachers paying visitations from house to house Such things are desirable, and I do not object to them but in a year of stress and difficulty, they may be done away with. In any case, as I have already pointed out they are not bare necessities of life. If one would turn to the pages of the budget and scrutinise the items, he would find many more.

I think the Bengal administration is undoubtedly top-heavy, and any attempt to improve the financial condition of our province, must be based on a desire to effect economy from the very top. This is, however, at present forbidden ground to us, but when the demands for grants come to this Council, we would be well-advised not to lose any opportunity to effect reduction wherever possible.

The present Budget has provided very little for primary education although this is a crying need of the country. Multiplication of the supervising staff and the erection of magnificent buildings will not carry forward the cause of primary education. I must take exception to the Government policy, which we call the brick and mortar policy, of building magnificent houses for accommodation of the schools which,

however, does not help much in furthering the cause of education. The most important thing is expansion of primary education, but even in villages and distant places where people are accustomed to live in huts magnificent buildings are being erected for schools. In Calcutta, we find, whenever there is a proposal for technical or primary education being extended, the first thought is devoted to magnificent building on land worth Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 6,000 a cottah; this does away with the whole of the money and there is nothing left for the original scheme. We are anxious to find multiplication of schools built in modest, sanitary cottages all over the country, and the people attracted to these places by the prospect of receiving elementary education without any serious detriment to their purse and convenience; that is what the policy should be. In Calcutta, I find that in the last few years the responsibility for primary education was shared between Government and the Corporation; the Bengal Government, I am sorry to say, did very little for furthering primary education in Calcutta; the result is that the state of things as regards primary education is worse in Calcutta than in the mufassal. Only last year, after a good deal of discussion in the Corporation, the responsibility for primary education was taken over by the Corporation. The Hon'ble the Minister in charge of Education will be able to tell you that four months ago a Joint Education Committee was appointed, but I am sorry to say that in these four months it has not been decided whether this committee should be an Advisory Committee or would control primary education in Calcutta; and the result is that only one or two meetings have been held, and the members found that unless their position was made clear, it was difficult to go on. That is why I object to the present policy of Government. We must have a more vigilant policy for primary education in Calcutta and the mufassal.

Coming to the subject which is peculiarly my own, *viz.*, the subject of medical relief, I find that all over Bengal people are suffering for want of adequate medical relief. The Government policy here also is to build large buildings and to run hospitals on very expensive lines, with a superior staff which is disproportionately costly, due to the recruitment of Indian Medical Service officers. It is time that the Minister took into consideration the possibility of having more extended medical relief all over the country, and that is only possible by taking up a method of economy which would be quite practicable if you do not confine yourself only to the Indian Medical Service, but throw the appointments open to all good medical men and attract good private practitioners in managing the hospitals. We are anxious to have more hospitals and infirmaries throughout the province, but this may only be possible, if we adopt this policy of economy which I have already pointed out.

In regard to public health, I find the same Government policy prevailing. The major portion of the Budget allotment is swallowed up by the maintenance of the costly establishment. We find Directors

of Public Health and Assistant Directors of Public Health provided in the Budget and still you find the same malaria, the same cholera, the same kala-azar, and the same difficulty with regard to filtered water. We find the same state of affairs throughout the province regarding diseases, etc., but the cost of maintenance of the staff is going up. We are anxiously expecting proposals of campaign against malaria, cholera and kala-azar and other preventible diseases, and I hope that in framing those schemes more attention should be paid to measures to ameliorate the condition of the people than has hitherto been done. We feel that the Budget to be satisfactory must contain adequate provision to improve the economic condition of the people. The present budget has sadly disappointed us in this repsect.

Babu INDU BHUSHAN DUTTA: The Hon'ble the Finance Member has said that the present Budget is one of which no one can feel proud. Sir, I will go further and say that this is a great non-co-operation Budget, because, first of all, we do not find any indication in it of the Government's desire to co-operate with the aspirations of the people; we do not find any definite schemes for fighting with the three great problems of Bengal, namely, poverty, ignorance and sickness; and secondly, because, Sir, I hardly know of any other document that will tend to advance the cause of non-co-operation more fully than this deficit Budget, demanding an imposition of three new taxes, taxes which are not to be regarded as temporary measures to tide over an extraordinary financial situation, but taxes which threaten to remain a permanent burden on the poor people of this province Sir, we have been taunted in this Council that we represent no one but our own selves only. I took special care to send copies of the three taxation Bills to many important associations of my own constituency; I discussed the matter with some leading men, and I have been met with the reply. "We will not have any taxation; if the reformed administration cannot be carried on without taxation, we do not want these reforms." So I say, Sir, with the voice of my constituency behind me, that I cannot support a Budget that asks for taxation to carry on the ordinary cost of administration. And, Sir my constituency is not alone in this mental attitude. We have the normal support of no less a personage than the Hon'ble Secretary of State himself who declared only the other day that India was a poor country and the people were already too heavily taxed!

Last year, the financial position of Bengal was just as bad as, if not worse than, what it is this year. Why did not the Government launch on retrenchment as seriously as they say they have done this year, or if that was not possible, why did they not fall upon taxation then? Because, if I am not much mistaken, they were afraid that proposals for taxation in the very first year of the Reforms would have damned the whole scheme altogether. So, they fell back upon the unspent balances, balances which they had hardly any right to touch, balances which had

been practically ear-marked for educational and other schemes. Sir, I think it would have been more fair, more straightforward, more honest to say once for all, at the beginning of the reformed Government, that it could not be carried without fresh taxation, instead of some Minister coming forward to give vague assurances that no taxation would be resorted to.

We have been told that such retrenchment has been effected, that no more can be done and that the bed-rock has at last been reached. When we find that the proposal for reducing the number of Executive Councillors has not yet been seriously thought of, when we understand that the proposal for the abolition of Commissioners has not yet matured, when we know that many posts like those of the Director of Land Records and Director of Surveys, posts like those of the Inspector-General of Registration, Commissioner of Excise and Deputy Collector of Land Revenue and Collector of Excise and Stamp Revenue in Calcutta, posts like those of the Inspector-General of Prisons and Inspector-General of Hospitals can be amalgamated, when we know that the Police budget can be readily pruned down and yet we find an increase of expenses in the District Criminal Intelligence Department, when we know that there are hosts of other methods of effecting retrenchment, how can we feel that the last word on retrenchment has been said? I say that the attempt at retrenchment has not been serious. It is the clear duty of Government to take up the question of retrenchment in the same business-like method as it has been done in England, by appointing an expert committee like the Geddes Committee; we, non-official members, cannot get all the papers of the Government, we cannot know all the details of the administration, we can only make broad suggestions, as we have often done. It is the clear duty of the Government to tackle the problem on its own initiative, instead of regarding proposals of retrenchment in the light of obstruction. We have been told that the various standing committees have not been able to effect retrenchment. Sir, I belong to a standing committee myself, but I seriously ask the Council, was it possible for us, placed as we were, to tackle the departmental budgets? The Budget was handed over to us later than the proverbial eleventh hour, when we had only 4 or 5 days to study an elaborate budget. As if this were not enough, when the time for discussion came, and I tried to raise the question of the organisation of the department in order to see how retrenchment might be effected, what reply do you think I received? I was plainly told that the matter was irrelevant and it was necessary to find money for the existing staff of the department. Sir, if this be the procedure to be adopted in the standing committees, then all I can say is, that they are a farce, they only serve the purpose of an eye-wash, to give a gloss over the already adopted Budget of the Finance Department ("Hear, hear"). If this Council really believes in the efficacy of the standing committees as far as retrenchment is concerned, why then did it ask for a Police Retrenchment Committee, when it knew that there was

already a Police Standing Committee in existence? These standing committees serve no useful purpose as far as the question of retrenchment is concerned.

Let us now come to the actual budget figures. First of all, we find that the transferred departments have got only 34 per cent., whereas the reserved departments have 66 per cent. In view of a recent resolution of this Council asking for 40 per cent. for the transferred departments, this allocation must be regarded as unfair. We, as a Council, strengthened the hands of the Ministers by that resolution; if they could have fought the Finance Department with half the tenacity with which they fought the Council for retaining their Rs. 64,000, I believe they might have done something. But how can they fight? They have no matured schemes. I believe that the Police Department can get such a large dole out of the Finance Department, because it has got so many schemes matured and ready. What have the Hon'ble Ministers done during the last 12 months to get any scheme cut and dried and ready for the Finance Department? We have lately been hearing a great deal about the grand anti-malarial loan of Rs. 2 crores. Where is that scheme? Who has drawn up the scheme? How is the figure 2 crores arrived at? Has it got the preliminary sanction of the Government? Or is the whole scheme still in a nebulous stage?

The Hon'ble Finance Member has provided for a deficit of Rs. 127 lakhs. But, Sir, I am afraid the deficit will be much more. Last year, at budget time, some of us sounded a note of warning that the revenue under Excise and Stamps would fall short of expectation, but our voice was unheeded because we were mere novices; but the unerring hand of destiny has falsified the hopes of expert financiers. We may be novices in finance, but we are in more intimate touch with the conditions prevailing in the country, and we know the powerful effect of the anti-drink and anti-litigation campaign. The number of law cases has dwindled down in all law courts, and if the Court-fees Bill be passed into legislation, their number will grow smaller still. I still think that the revenue allotment under Excise and Stamps is more than can be justified by the present condition of the country. Then in the Land Revenue side, there has been a drop of more than Rs. 3½ lakhs under the head Survey and Settlement. The main reason given, is that the original estimate for Jessore was too optimistic. This year, the Director of Land Records hopes (for what reason, Heaven knows) to recover the difference of Rs. 3¼ lakhs. Is not this pious hope likely to be too optimistic? The revenue is bound to be short of expectations, and I am afraid that the deficit may go up to Rs. 140 lakhs. You cannot expect more than this sum from the new taxes. Where then will your new supplementary budget and the anti-malaria loan schemes get their finance?

Under the head High Court, we find a provision of Rs. 50,000 for paper-books. Sir, after the decision of the Council last year, this provision is most unjustifiable.

There is a provision of Rs. 1½ lakhs for appointment of temporary Judges and Subordinate Judges to cope with the large increase of judicial work. But where, pray, is the increase? As for the Police Department, Sir, much has been said and I will not go into details to-day. But to show the attitude of the higher authorities, I will only mention one instance. Last year, in July, I think a Retrenchment Committee met at Dacca, consisting of the District Magistrate, the District Superintendent of Police and three moderate members of this Council and they expressed their strong opinion that European sergeants were not necessary at Dacca, and yet in the Budget, we find full provision for these sergeants at Dacca.

In the Education Department, a great deal has already been said, how even the small grant on account of primary education could not be spent, how the usefulness of the Calcutta Science College is being jeopardised by the non-provision of any grants. I find that the Minister in his anxiety to give a revision of pay to the officers subordinate to the Bengal Educational Service, obtained a supplementary grant of Rs. 4 lakhs in addition to the Rs. 3½ lakhs already provided in the original budget. But when the time for expenditure comes, we find that he cannot spend more than Rs. 5 lakhs. Why is this discrepancy? Did he have no definite scheme when he provided for Rs. 7½ lakhs?

To come now to the Medical and Public Health Departments, I will take the liberty of quoting only a few figures and let the Council draw its own conclusions. There is a great reduction for the provision for hospitals and dispensaries. When people are dying like flies for want of proper medical treatment and medicine, this economy is indeed excellent! Then, Sir, we find that there is a provision for 10·78 lakhs for all the medical colleges and schools of Bengal. Would the Council believe me when I say that the provision for Lunatic Asylums is nearly the same amount Rs. 10·77 lakhs? The provision for Public Health establishment is 8·29 lakhs, whereas the provision for Public Health grant is 5·90 lakhs. When the establishment takes away the lion's share of the money, we can only console ourselves with the philosophical resignation that it is the birth right and privilege of the people of this hapless province to die in their numbers—without doctors, without medicine and without proper nourishment!

Rai UPENDRA LAL RAY Bahadur: It is customary for members of Council to comment on the Budget presented every year by the Finance Member and to make general observations theron. The Hon'ble Finance Member then deals with the questions raised in the debate for clearing the way for the voting of grants. The same practice will be followed this year, but when one goes through the details of the Budget, as framed for the year 1922-23, he has no other alternative than to suggest retrenchments in whatever way it may be possible. There is nothing to choose as it is clear that there are no savings from which members of different

constituencies can vie with each other in demanding grants for their respective requirements.

I shall, however, try to make a few remarks on the workings of the three Hon'ble Ministers in charge of the transferred departments. It has to be seen whether the resolution of the Council for making over 40 per cent. of the revenues instead of 30 per cent. to the transferred departments has been given effect to. On the contrary, the proportion appears to be a little over 30 per cent. Whenever suggestions were made to the Ministers for help in any particular direction, want of funds was the stereotyped reply, and if we look at the remarks made under some of the items of this department we find to our surprise that many sanctioned schemes could not be taken in hand on the ground that they had not matured and on other grounds. Does it speak for the activities of the departments over which our own countrymen have the honour of presiding.

I have looked carefully into the lists of subjects for which specific amounts have been earmarked and I wish to bring to the notice of the House and especially to the Hon'ble Members and Ministers that I do not find a single item for any original or repair works under any heading for the division of Chittagong which I have the honour to represent. There is only one item mentioned at page 51 sanctioning a petty sum of Rs. 32,000 for the water-works scheme at Comilla Does this speak of a fair distribution? In the current year also the division had the same fate. May I ask the Hon'ble Ministers why they have thought it fit to make this invidious distinction for the remotest but in no way a less important part of this presidency? Is it because none of them had the time or the desire to pay a visit to the districts of this division since they took over charge?

I do not also know whether the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education has made any provision for the appointment of a Professor of Philosophy for the Chittagong College for which I was informed in reply to a question put by me that the appointment would be made next year. I hope provision has been made for this appointment under the head of Education. If we look at Appendix A, we find that the Madaripur Bil Route for the widening and deepening of which a sum of Rs. 13,65,818 appears to have been sanctioned and for which a sum of Rs. 7,65,336 was spent up to the end of the year 1920-21 and a further sum of Rs. 5,00,000 was probably spent this year, has been favoured with a provision of Rs. 7,88,000 for the year under review. This last amount is also subject to a revision and Heaven only knows whether the revised estimate will or will not exceed the amount. The three items put together make a total of Rs. 20,53,336 against a sanctioned estimate of Rs. 13,65,818. An explanation is certainly necessary. I demand an account of the revenues derived from this project shewing the justification of an expenditure of this nature. Turning to Appendix B, not a single item of expenditure has been provided for any work in the Chittagong Division although we find

that under the head of Communications at page 78, there are provisions of a sum of Rs. 17,000 and of Rs. 72,000 for construction of roads at Kalimpong and also of the sums of Rs. 2,21,000 and Rs. 65,000 for certain roads in Calcutta. We also find a provision of Rs. 3,06,000 for water-supply at Kalimpong, the total cost of which was estimated at Rs. 7,41,000 out of which Rs. 4,35,000 were spent up to 31st March, 1921, and although a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 was sanctioned for the current year no money appears to have been spent this year. All expenditure for Kalimpong which is being developed as a hill-station have been classed as non-voted items. The reasons are unknown. It is also not known whether any local contribution has been received for the water-works scheme at Kalimpong.

I also find in this Appendix that there is a provision for Rs 1,29,000 for construction of a Police Hospital at Bhowanipur and of Rs. 16,000 for electric installation in it as also of a sum of Rs. 76,000 for a lunatic asylum and electric installation in that locality.

Under the head "Hospitals and Dispensaries" the whole sum of Rs. 2,36,000 is earmarked for construction of new wards or installation of electric lights and other improvements in the hospitals at Sealdah and Calcutta alone; whereas no provision has been made for medical schools and colleges anywhere in this presidency. In the current year also heavy sums were spent under these headings for these very hospitals and dispensaries. There should be a fair distribution of the total amount of expenditure on original and other works throughout the presidency.

I find at page 27 that a sum of Rs. 50,000 has been budgeted for the renewal of furniture and carpets which, it is said, is usual whenever a new Governor assumes office I am sure that when new carpets and furniture are purchased the old and existing things are not thrown away. I am not aware whether the sum of Rs. 20,000 on account of sale of old stores and materials under the heading of "Miscellaneous" at page 64 includes the expected sale-proceeds of these old carpets and furniture.

I would now like to make a few observations on the cost of administration. It is admitted that the cost is overwhelmingly heavy and retrenchments are necessary, but the way in which the Budget has been framed does not indicate any desire of that sort. It is not possible to work out the proportion of the total expenditure under the heading of Establishment charges to that on account of actual works in all the departments, but I feel tempted to believe that the former is unusually heavy. There is much room for improvement in the departments of Agriculture, Industries, Fisheries and Commerce. At page 56, I find provision of a sum of Rs. 21,000 for the appointment of a Director of Fisheries and, as usual, in other departments also, a provision for revision of the pay of the ministerial establishment and for larger expenditure under travelling allowance and steam-launch contingencies to enable the newly-appointed Director to tour about the province. I have no faith in

the appointment of highly-paid officers if they are not backed up by financial help to carry out their projects. Steam-launches are a luxury, as with the improved means of communication all over the province there is no necessity for each departmental head to have a steam-launch of his own. The recurring expenditure is very heavy and instances are not rare of these launches being used for purposes other than legitimate. We want money for experiments and demonstrations, and I venture to suggest that the report-writing departments should be abolished altogether. Subordinate officers generally try to prove their existence by writing reports and submitting tour diaries, but they themselves complain that they get very little financial help for demonstration and other works. In this state of things there is no justification for maintenance of these departments and any proposal for creation of new appointments should be summarily rejected.

Under "Administration of Justice," I find provision has been made for one additional Judge of the High Court and his establishment and also a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 has been set apart for the appointment of temporary District and Sessions Judges, Subordinate Judges and their establishments to cope with the large increase in judicial work. I cannot for a moment persuade myself to believe that with the development of the present agitation and the feeling in the country to avoid litigation and, moreover, the proposal for increased taxation on justice, the number of civil suits will at all increase. The reverse may happen and those amounts may with safety be transferred to other heads of public utility. I know of one village union where, in the course of a year, no less than 400 civil disputes were settled at an average cost of rupee one per case. People are realising the advantages of amicable settlement and any addition to the existing establishment will be superfluous.

I now come to the most important question of salaries I need not say much on this subject, but only suggest that the time has come when all departments of the public service should aim at reduction of salaries. This is the cry of the country and conditions which necessitated the increase having altered now we must follow other countries where an all-round reduction has been accepted by all classes of people both in private and public services. If only we stop the increment for one year the saving will be enormous and unless reduction of salaries is agreed upon, I would make a very modest suggestion to stop the increments due. Let all departments of the Government agree to accept the highest scale of pay reached this year and you will find that there will be a considerable saving. I would also suggest the abolition of the Public Works Department or considerable reduction of the establishment. It is anomalous to maintain an establishment with little or no work for it. Throughout the entire book we find that in all departments provision has been made for increment of salaries. I know it for a fact that increments have already been given in services which were not in urgent need of them and they have been withheld in the case of the most deserving. Some readjust-

ment of this state of things is necessary and desirable. I need not go into details.

Mr. S. MAHBOOB ALEY: While congratulating the Finance Member on the able manner in which a difficult and anxious situation has been met, I regret to notice that there has been no organised attempt at retrenchment of public expenditure. The reduction of expenditure that has been effected in various directions consists of merely empirical remedies calculated to meet temporary symptoms. The remedies do not seek to cure the real malady which the body politic is suffering from. The people are conscious that they are a poor people The average income is very low. We are economically and industrially backward. The Government, if one is to judge from their policy, appear to be ignorant of these rudimental facts. It has imposed on us an elaborate administrative machinery, highly centralised, such as one does not find even in the most advanced countries of the world. The supervising and superior staff is out of all proportion to the subordinate and working staff and as a result, the amount of actual work turns out to be meagre, entailing a needlessly heavy expenditure We can well understand that so long as the British connection was alien in its intention and activities, an expensive centralised system manned almost entirely by non-Indians was necessary. But it is painful that with the Parliamentary declaration of August, 1917, solemnly put forward as the rule of conduct governing Britain's relations with India, and with the Reforms Act in full operation, we are relegated to a system of administration with numerous Members of Executive Council, Ministers, Inspectors-General, Commissioners, Magistrates, Collectors and Superintendents carrying in their train the numerous paraphernalia of their respective offices, imposing a burden which rests with a crushing weight on the devitalised people of this country.

It has been clear for a long time to the people of this country, and I earnestly hope that the Government and our European friends will not ignore visible facts, that what we want is a simple and much less expensive system of administration. A less complex and less numerously manned body is what the country wants for its work and progress. The present system impedes and retards progress, it is a spiritless, unsympathetic and punitive system of administration that appears to be the model which the Government appears to be working up to. It is intended to work for efficiency but leads to irritation and inefficiency. I shall illustrate by an example. Take the present Calcutta Municipal Act and the administration of it. You all remember that when Sir Alexander Mackenzie formally introduced it and carried it through, it was characterised from the popular standpoint, as a retrograde and bureaucratic measure. Numerous inspectors and supervisors were appointed. But what has it all led up to? There are insanitary *bustees*, badly repaired and badly cleaned roads, dust clouds

which you can almost cut through with a knife, want of water for flushing and drinking purposes. Instead of the municipal machinery being used for the public good, the machinery has become an engine of oppression. Take an instance, bricks are unloaded in front of your house and are removed in such time as it is humanly possible to remove them. You receive a notice from the Road Inspector that you obstruct a public thoroughfare and you are hauled up before the Municipal Magistrate where you are fined.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT (Babu Surendra Nath Ray): Mr. Mahboob Aley is discussing the Budget of the Calcutta Corporation and not the Budget of the Government of Bengal. I hope he will not dilate further on the point.

Mr. S. MAHBOOB ALEY: We want elaborate systems and huge piles of red tape to be done away with. We want a searching inquiry as to the system best suited to our needs and capacities. But so far the Government has turned a deaf ear to our urgent calls for inquiry directed to evolve a less expensive system suited to our wants and calculated to lead us onward on the right path of progress.

The general administration and the Police branches as also the Judicial branch of the administration appear to be pampered. There are for instance too many Inspectors-General and Deputy Inspectors-General, too many Members of the Executive Council and too many Ministers. With the growth of Local Self-Government, some posts of Collectors and subdivisional officers might well have been done away with. Some of the other highly-paid posts appear to be wholly unnecessary to the public eye.

I earnestly hope that Government will show the statesmanship that the occasion demands and boldly try to solve the problem with the sole desire to do good to the people.

I desire also to call attention to the fact that in a province of which more than half the population consists of Musalmans and where the Musalman population suffers more from poverty and want of education than other sections of the people, special measures are not taken for fostering education and improving the economic condition of the Musalman population. I do not ask the Government or the Council to ignore the claims of other communities. But we must take facts as they are. The Musalman population as a body is backward and requires special treatment. It is to the interest of the State and to the general progress of the Province that the Musalman population should be brought up to the level of the other advanced sections of the community. How can this be done? It can be done by providing special and additional facilities for the spread of education amongst Musalmans. It is also necessary that special facilities should be afforded for the Musalmans that they might take their due share in

all the local self-governing bodies and finally by admitting such numbers of Musalmans in the various classes of the public services, both high and low, as is proportionate to their numerical strength and their importance. At present the hand of patronage ignores, in many instances, the claims of Musalmans. But this should not be. I do not put forward my appeal as an appeal for a class or a community only. But for the harmonious progress of the country as a whole, it is necessary that no section of the population should be kept in the background as regards the public services.

The people of this country are crying piteously to be saved from malaria and cholera, to be taught to apply to the best advantage the resources of their country and to improve their standard of living and their moral and material condition There is no response. Or rather the response, that we have, consists of more police and more jails and more highly-paid officers in the barren departments, while the departments that save life and bear fruit are systematically starved. Law and order are no doubt valuable. But too high a price is being paid for them. With sympathy and a more accurate knowledge of the popular mind and with timely action, much less expenditure is likely to be incurred to maintain law and order. When the special Government measures were promulgated after the 17th November, 1921, we were told that for a year and a half hundreds of meetings had been held all over the country by which an intensive campaign of sedition was being carried on. Why was Government sleeping all that time or was Government winking at what was happening? Why did Government act as if stricken by a panic, and surprise people by their jumpy performances? It was, to say the least of it, exceedingly inferior statesmanship, if it was statesmanship at all. We all earnestly trust that saner counsels will prevail and Government will be more mindful of its work, more foresighted in adopting its measures and more sympathetic in its activities.

Babu JATINDRA NATH BASU: Our thanks are due to the Hon'ble Finance Member for applying the pruning-knife to expenditure in most of the departments. With our administrative machinery, as it stands, it is probably difficult to apply the pruning-knife too close without danger to the efficiency of the administration.

The cry for economy is now being heard all over the world. Almost all countries are trying to cut down their expenditure. As has already been pointed out, the Geddes Committee have made certain sweeping recommendations a great many of which are likely to be accepted by the Cabinet. We have recently seen from the telegrams that New Zealand is thinking of reducing the scale of salary of her services.

What we require in India is a careful investigation as to the machinery that is required to carry on the administration and to work for the progress of the people. It has to be found as to what

is the most economical, at the same time the most efficient machinery. Up to the present the public are not aware of any systematic inquiry having been made as to how the administrative machinery may be made simpler and less expensive. I would urge upon the Government the desirability of commencing inquiries so that in due time a scheme may be evolved for an administrative machinery suited to the financial capabilities of the country. Sudden and sweeping changes are likely to injuriously affect the work of administration, but there is no reason why there should not be an inquiry into the work that has to be done and the machinery that is required to cope with the work in the light of recent developments.

With easier and closer means of communication and with a better manned district staff, it does not appear to be necessary, that there should be a numerous supervising and controlling staff in the shape of Divisional Officers or Inspectors-General or Directors at headquarters. In England, the Home Secretary looks after the entire Police administration besides performing various other functions. There is no reason why one of the Secretaries of the Local Government should not perform like functions instead of having under him Inspectors-General and Deputy Inspectors-General and various other supervising officers.

As regards the Department of Revenue, we have now the Revenue Member in addition to the Board of Revenue and the several Divisional Commissioners. The functions now performed by the Commissioners may very well be divided up between other officers and a saving effected by abolishing the Divisional Commissioners and their establishments.

With reference to the Registration and Excise Departments, it appears to be hardly necessary that there should be a separate Commissioner and a separate Inspector-General. If the Minister in charge finds it necessary to have a highly-paid officer at headquarters instead of having personal assistants connected with each department, then the duties of the Inspector-General of Registration and the Commissioner of Excise may very well be combined, or the Director of Land Records may very well be entrusted with the work of co-ordinating and controlling the Registration establishments in the country.

We all know that with the development of the Local Self-Government institutions, the work of the district officers has considerably decreased. It is now hardly necessary that there should be a highly-paid officer for each district. Many of the subdivisional officers may safely be done away with, while two or three smaller districts may be grouped together under one district officer.

With reference to the remarks of the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Finance Department that nearly all the standing committees have recommended increase instead of decrease of expenditure, I desire to point out, as has already been pointed out by Babu Indu

Bhushan Dutta, that the estimates are placed in the hands of the standing committees only a very short time before the final preparation of the Budget and the figures and information placed before them are so meagre that it is not possible for them to deal usefully with the materials placed before them within the time at their command.

Departmental reports with memoranda showing the cost of establishment and of the work of the several departments and containing suggestions as to any alteration in the figures and in the schemes of work that are intended to be made should be placed before the standing committees in order that they may offer useful advice to the Members or Ministers in charge. Otherwise, they are merely called for discussions which cannot be of use either to the committees or to the Government.

There are one or two matters which probably do not concern provincial finance, but I desire to urge upon the local Government the advisability of constantly pressing upon the Government of India the importance of commencing work on the various sanctioned railway projects in this province in order that the carrying out of those works may not be delayed. So far as Calcutta is concerned, the bridge over the Hooghly is another question which should be solved as early as possible. There is another suggestion which I should also like to make, namely, the necessity of providing some lifts in the High Court. If any one has occasion to go and see Mr. Duval, there is every chance of his heart failing before he reaches his room.

I do not think I need say anything more.

Babu JOGENDRA NATH ROY: I am sorry I cannot congratulate the Hon'ble the Finance Member on the Budget which he has presented to this Council. And no one is more conscious of this than the Hon'ble Member himself. In his speech in introducing the Budget he confessed that it was a performance of which no one could be proud. He has admitted that in the Budget no provision has been made to improve the condition of living in the province. Only the bare necessities of administration have been met. This open avowal of failure to provide for the urgent needs of the province disarms to some extent criticism.

And, if after the avowal, I proceed to make a few observations, it is because we hold that sufficient retrenchment has not been made in the administration. We are sorry the Report of the Finance Committee is not made known to the members who have appointed the Committee. We are sorry that no serious and systematic endeavour has been made to cut our coat according to our cloth. We all know what strenuous attempts are being made in Great Britain to reduce the cost of administration. In this matter we should follow the example of Great Britain. That reduction is possible has been proved by the fact that in the current year it has been found possible to make a reduction of Rs. 68 lakhs.

For this relief, much thanks. But it will bring but little relief to Bengal where three new taxation Bills have been placed on the Council to defray the ordinary cost of administration.

Had the Government convinced this Council that every attempt had been made to reduce the cost of administration it would have been possible for us to give our support to the methods adopted by the Government; at present we can only give the Government our sympathy. But the people of Bengal deserve more sympathy. Not a pice has been provided for the nation-building departments. Every pice available has been eaten up to defray the cost of ordinary administration. This is a serious situation and demands a bold policy of retrenchment which I recommend this Council to adopt.

I regret there is practically no provision for any constructive work. And even sanitation and education have been sadly neglected. While a sum of Rs. 1,89,87,000 has been given to the Police, Public Health has been dismissed with Rs. 15,57,000. Grants for Education have been inadequate. In this connection, I would like to put in a word for the much-abused Dacca University with which I have some connection. Our friends on the side of the Padma seem to resent the arrangement by which the Dacca University has got more than the Calcutta University Sir, as one who has been trained under the ægis of the Calcutta University, I should be the last person to say that adequate funds should not be available for the Calcutta University to carry on its useful work. But we should not forget that the Dacca University had to its credit a sum of over Rs. 60,00,000 out of which only a moderate sum has up to now been spent. I hope sufficient funds should not be grudged to the Dacca University to complete the work so promisingly begun. We had only one University in Calcutta insufficient for the educational needs of the province. The more Universities we get, the more facilities will we have for the spread of education.

Some reference has been made to the political situation in the province. We all regret the political unrest through which we are now passing. And we are all ready to help Government in maintaining law and order. But all the same, we resent any encroachment on the elementary rights of the people of speech and association. One of my colleagues has advocated propaganda work to counteract the influence of non-co-operation. But what would he do to counteract the feeling that police *zulum* and civil-guard high-handedness produce in the people? The best propaganda work would be to ameliorate the condition of the masses, educate the masses, improve their sanitary condition, help them to improve their material condition, and discontent will disappear and there will be no more talk of ill-treatment in temporary jails which has cast a slur on the fair fame of our friend in charge of the department. And what are the Moderates, pledged as they are to see that the Reforms succeed, doing in the matter? Let them come forward and make sacrifices in the cause of the country.

In jails and hospitals, Indians and Europeans should receive equal treatment, and steps should be taken to popularise and improve the indigenous system of medicine which are less expensive and in which the masses have more faith.

I hope I do not appeal in vain to the Hon'ble the Minister of Agriculture when I ask him to encourage the cultivation of cotton in parts of Bengal where cotton can be grown to the profit of the cultivators. They are already overburdened. With daily dwindling yield on their lands, they have to meet the rising cost of living and the new taxes on Stamps and Court-fees will tell heavily on them. Means should therefore be found to improve their condition Cultivation of cotton will not only give him a new crop but will also relieve the people of their hopeless dependence on foreign countries for the supply of cloth. Steps should be taken to establish small industries with Government help and advice so as to solve the poverty problem of the province.

Special arrangement should be made to give the cultivating classes and the depressed classes the benefit of free primary education They deserve special attention from the Government and from the Council, and I hope the Minister in charge of the nation-building departments will justify their existence, their expensive existence by paying special attention to their needs If they cannot do so, if they cannot show any record of progress, why should the province be saddled with them? And I hope, like the Minister in charge of the Local Self-Government in Bihar, our Ministers will come forward and say that they too would like to serve the country as honorary officers finding this a rich reward in the approbation of their conscience and the gratitude of their countrymen

Babu SURENDRA NATH MALLIK: I am somewhat surprised to hear most of my friends express disappointment at the Budget. I must confess that I had this feeling very keen in me last year but I do not share that feeling at all now and that for two very cogent reasons The first is, there is no room for disappointment when there is no hope broken to make the heart sick I am in this happy position that since the first Budget of the Reforms, I have been able to forsake completely all hopes of justice from a bureaucracy steeped in prejudice against our national interests and aspirations and inflated with the sense of their superior claim to all the blessings from a grinding taxation.

I am born unto these conditions and why should I allow my heart to be filled with hopes because a grandiloquent name of "Reformed Government" or "Popular control" has been given to the old and deep-rooted bureaucratic administration established over a century ago?

The old autocratic policy of the Government, "Children of the soil last and the least," is still there in all its vigour or with even greater vigour, in spite of the Reforms. We have been persistently left out in

the outer darkness as of old. Because a false cry of Reform has been raised and the shadow of a control over the purse has been projected on our mental screen, is that any reason why I should take seriously that there has been any change or desire for any change in our status of a subject race? Where, then, is the room for disappointment?

Another reason why I have no disappointment is that, as the result of one year's experience, I have found out that I and my brother Indian elected members have been called upon to work here according to the teachings of the Bhagabat Gita: "*Karmanney Badhikerasthey ma falesu kadachana*"(thy business is the deed alone and never what return it yields). We are here to work but not to look to any result. We are here to pass resolutions but not to expect any heed being paid to them. We are here to struggle for justice but not to fret on defeat. These are the unwritten conditions of our services here. Why should we then fret on our demands being rejected contemptuously or our claims being thwarted systematically or even our prayers being brushed aside with arrogance? To cite a most galling instance, I refer to my resolution accepted by the Council three months ago by which we asked for 40 per cent. of the total revenues for the transferred departments. Not only has not this been acceded to but the existing basis of allocation to those departments have been altered to our further prejudice. Here is another instance of progressive realisation of popular government indeed. In doing this Council work, therefore, let us not mislead ourselves into any hope for the better, and if we stick to that lesson of Srikrishna to Arjun then no disappointment will be there to complain of. From this experience gained, I would sooner welcome a fully autocratic Government than a so-called Reformed and Popular Government in the shape of a hopeless dyarchy attended by a tremendously costly form of administration and an additional source of irritation brought into the bargain.

I am sorry, Sir, that nobody has congratulated the Hon'ble Finance Member on his success in tiding over the financial difficulties by fresh taxation. I congratulate him because he is the Finance Member of a country the Legislative Council of which readily assent to fresh taxation one after another for meeting a deficit brought about by a top-heavy administration absolutely unsuited to the financial and other conditions of a country like ours without first having seriously insisted on retrenchments to make two ends meet.

It has been said that again there will be a deficit next year. I have no doubt of it. But what of that? There will again be the dying horse available for being flogged and some more blood—perhaps the very last drop in the shape of death duties—will again be available.

If language is the means of concealing the thought of men, the Budget is the means of concealing the policy of a Government and it is almost impossible to detect it completely within a week by a man of my mental capacity.

I, however, do not desire to make a lengthy speech on the figures of the Budget as I did last year, for the simple reason that I have since found out that to be perfectly useless. Then again this is not a complete Budget. All that I desire to do now is to point out that neither the Hon'ble Member nor the Hon'ble Ministers have suggested any substantial retrenchment in the cost of administration. Not a word about amalgamation of offices to reduce the cost in order to make funds available for better use. Absolute wastes have also not been prevented. Take, for instance, the Industries Department. Out of Rs 10 lakhs for the whole of the department just about Rs. 3 lakhs go to the establishment of the Director of Industries which contain 11 officers with a pay of Rs. 89,000 and one Superintendent and 94 clerks costing Rs. 1,14,000, house rent in Calcutta costing Rs. 48,000. This Department was entrusted with the work of organising the Calcutta Research Tannery at a sanctioned cost of Rs 1,20,000. These officers could not mature the sheme and so the money could not be utilised. The only scheme however that these officers could develop was to increase the cost of direction of industries, *i.e.*, their own salaries from Rs. 3·32 to Rs. 3·88 lakhs. Let us next take the Fisheries Department This Department, as I said before, exists neither for the fishes nor for the fish-eaters. It is perfectly useless and its cost of direction is going to be enhanced by the appointment of an Additional Director from England, etc., from Rs. 45,000 to Rs 82,000.

Take again the Agricultural Department. In spite of the full complement of officers, the Department have saved about Rs 80,000 for failing to utilise the grant for the distribution of seeds What a spendid work done by a full complement of officers! All these vampires should be swept away.

Coming to the Department of Public Health with a full complement of officers costing over Rs 8 lakhs this Department also could not utilise an amount of Rs 1·39 lakhs as schemes have not matured. By the time these schemes mature, this dying race shall almost be extinct. For the next year, the establishment charges for this department have gone up higher, but the grants for real public health purposes have been reduced from Rs. 6·43 to Rs 5·90 lakhs

Then again the grant against malaria and other epidemics has been reduced from Rs 1·60 to Rs. 1·22 thousand. It is a great satisfaction to know that Bengal, during its first year of Reforms, has automatically improved in health. The Hon'ble Minister has however spent Rs. 24,000 more this year than the Budget estimate for distribution of quinine, but we must remember that selling quinine to a dying race, the Government has made a profit of Rs. 1·68 lakhs in 1918-19, Rs. 5·39 lakhs in 1919-20 and Rs. 7·62 lakhs in 1920-21. The rates of profit being 7½, 30, and 210 per cent. respectively. The last is enough to make the mouth of a Clive Street profiteer or a Burrabazar land grabber water

profusely. All this at the cost of a dying race for which the Hon'ble Minister has shown so much sympathy.

Next, Sir, I take up education. In this also there has been a saving of about a lakh through inaction. The help to private colleges has not been fully utilised nor so the grant for primary education in spite of the full complement of officers. Coming to the Universities, we find Dacca has been granted Rs. 9 lakhs, but Calcutta left to shiver in the cold in spite of the cordial relation subsisting between Government and the University. We do desire that the Calcutta University should be helped to tide over her difficulty provided she, like a good old mother, respects the wishes of her grown-up children. So far as the Calcutta Science College is concerned, it has been very cruelly treated. This institution, founded on the charity of Bengal's greatest sons and now under the inspiring guidance of Bengal's world-known Chemist working with all his selflessness, should be given a suitable grant to prevent a catastrophe which will be nothing less than a national calamity. In the matter of primary education, I must confess that even the biggest municipal organisation in the land, *viz.*, the Calcutta Corporation, is not quite alive to its sense of duty. My friend Rai Dr. Haridhan Dutt Bahadur who is an ardent worker in this cause in that Corporation will bear me out that we have lost considerable amount of time in the preliminary work of removing prejudice against it from the ancient minds there.

Looking to Law and Justice, we find that the Hon'ble High Court is continually adding to the list of its Judges. Before the partition (with Bihar and Orissa in its fold), there were, in 1911, 15 Judges including the Chief Justice. After the separation of the High Court, there was no reduction as was expected and in 1916 there was the same number, instead of there being at least only two-thirds of it, but in 1922, there are 17 Judges including the Chief Justice. With half the area and less than half the number of cases, Judges are being added every day. True it is that we cannot control this demand, but we can certainly point out that for a poor country where there is such a terrible deficit, the luxury of working only 165 days out of 365 in the year should be discontinued and in this way the establishment reduced, particularly when Justice is going to be taxed more heavily.

Then again the huge waste of money in Crown prosecutions, and Government suits at a heavy cost, in cases necessary or manufactured. But I must not go further lest I may be within the borders of "the *sub-judice*."

But, Sir, alas! all this is a mere cry in the wilderness and we must leave it to Nemesis to take her course.

Rai JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE Bahadur: I am very sorry, Sir, to say that I am disappointed at the Budget presented to us. The Government also say they are sorry. I am afraid that their sorrows are like the sorrows of Werther greatly self-created though aggravated

by circumstances over which they have no control. A recurring increase of more than Rs. 3½ lakhs in the salaries of European officers, as disclosed in the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr's reply last Thursday, which was a piece of great injustice, led to pangs of conscience and sentimentality on the part of the Government and of this Council which led to the increase of something like Rs. 80 lakhs a year in the salaries of the subordinate officers and *paharawallas* and other menials. The Government have been fully aware that they are in desperate straits. But nevertheless they have added to the burdens of the poor people of Bengal by an additional recurring expenditure of over Rs. 80 lakhs a year in increase of salaries on the delusive hope that the Meston award would be set aside and the Government of India would give them all they want. Now we know the Government of India has a financial deficit of Rs. 31 crores and every provincial Government is in as great difficulty as we. We read in this morning's papers that the Government has declared in the Council of State that almost all the Provinces would get some relief next year but not Bengal. To increase our recurring expenditure on such delusions as relief from the Government of India is criminal folly. Three new taxes are about to be imposed and a large loan is proposed to be floated, and I am sure that having regard to the huge deficit of the Government of India, Bengal must have to pay another extra tax. We are told that every attempt has been made at retrenchment. What we find is that every indispensable expenditure affecting the vital interests of the people has been cut down. The following statement will abundantly prove my position.

The very first reduction we find is that of Rs. 1,52,000, because of all omission of all provisions for improvements and development of one of the most important and paying of our departments, namely, Forests, of the possibilities of which we have lately heard so much from the Government.

The next reduction is in the matter of loans under Land Improvement and Agriculturists' Loans Acts and loans to Co-operative Societies of about Rs. 10 lakhs, Rs. 15 lakhs being the figure for 1920, Rs. 18 lakhs 40 thousand for 1921-22 and Rs. 8 lakhs for 1923.

Another reduction is of Rs. 2 lakhs for costs of settlement proceedings by putting off survey operations already begun and incurring loss and by postponing these proceedings in some districts, though it is admitted that these proceedings are of vital importance for the protection of the rights of tenants and though the amount to be recovered from these proceedings this year is estimated at Rs. 22 lakhs.

There have been no new agricultural farms established, and there has been retrenchment in the matter of distribution of improved paddy and jute seeds.

In education we find, that in the matter of secondary schools in the transferred department, in 1921-22 was Rs. 19 lakhs and this year it is

Rs. 18 lakhs and in the matter of primary schools the total grant last year was Rs. 12 lakhs 70 thousand and this year it is Rs. 11 lakhs 40 thousand, an increase of Rs. 1 lakh 3 thousand. The grant for secondary and primary schools is Rs. 42 lakhs, but the direction and inspection cost about Rs. 13 lakhs. The reins seem to be more costly than the horse. This is unsatisfactory in the extreme and the increase is still more unsatisfactory.

As regard the University we have to tell a woeful story. The Calcutta University is practically bankrupt. The grant proposed is Rs. 1,41,000 including Rs. 13,000 for supervision. Whereas to the University of Dacca with its practically handful of students, very few of whom are Muhammadans, a grant of Rs. 9 lakhs is proposed. Comment on this is unnecessary. The secondary boards have not yet been constituted notwithstanding the resolution of this Council, and the high schools are as badly off as before.

There has been an increase of Rs. 2 lakhs 24 thousand on account of travelling and residence allowance of members of Council and other expenses for Legislative Council which must be considered by the people as a very expensive and unnecessary and selfish institution. Its standing committees have all, we are told, proposed additional expenditure and they themselves have proved very costly

There has been an increase of Rs 10 lakhs in the expenditure under heading "Stationery and Printing."

I want an explanation why there has been a fall in the sale of timber from the Sunderbans. There must be something wrong.

Again I am not satisfied that the expectation of increase of Rs. 8 lakhs over the actuals of last year in Excise is justified.

We want an explanation why about Rs 1½ lakhs have been put down for a new scheme for the Grand Trunk Canal as justly pointed out by Colonel Pugh. Does our bankrupt Government still intend to go on with this extravagant project which may cost Rs. 6 crores?

I should say a few words more in particular about education. The university is going on in its wasteful and generally considered jobbing ways in spite of the resolutions of this Council. We have to find money for the most unpopular of bodies, namely, the Senate, and the Council resolution about reforming the constitution have not yet been given effect to. Colonel Pugh justly complained yesterday that no attempt has been made to give effect to the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. Our Minister has forgotten that he has only one and a half years of the tenure of his office left. The Dacca University has been given Rs. 9 lakhs a year for what good purpose Heaven only knows. It is said that it is to recompense the Muhammadans for annulling the partition But it has benefited very little Muhammadans. There are not a hundred Muhammadan boys there. The Calcutta University is being

actually starved to death. Is it good policy to allow the premier University in Asia to go floundering in its way without putting it right and starving it to death?

Furthermore, Sir, the Government has ignored the resolutions of the Council and flouted at us in a fashion which no self-respecting public body should tolerate. We passed resolutions for medical relief and supply of drinking water to the poor people of the mufassal and I am told we must wait for the big loan. In the meantime Rs. 5 lakhs have been provided for five new medical schools, I hear, in the Supplementary Budget. There is no attempt to create the demand by even the promise of employment but large sums must be spent for the supply. This attempt to delude the people with the offer of stone when they require bread, I cannot sufficiently condemn. We passed resolutions for Technological and Agricultural Colleges and Schools and nothing has been granted for the purpose. Colonel Pugh's denunciation of the inefficiency of the Ministers, if indulged in by any one of us, would be considered stark rebellion. He however forgot to mention one matter. No attempt has been made to give effect to the Industrial Commission's recommendations. It is no fault of the Minister if he tells us he has not the time to read it or to understand it. One likes to know why Industrial Education has not been placed under the Education Minister.

The people of this province are discontented. What benefits do they receive from the Government? Pay, pay and pay more is all they hear, while they die like fleas of cholera and other diseases feeling helpless and hopeless for want of doctors and while their lips are parched for want of drinking water. The middle classes are without employment because of the want of technical education. You cannot expect a people to be contented under these conditions. It is not Mr. Gandhi or Mr. C. R. Das who is responsible for this state of things but the Government. The Government is under a great delusion. They have been misled by the agitating politicians in thinking that by grant of political rights with expensive salaries for the leaders or even by grant of a *Swaraj* with an expensive administration even though Lord Sinha or Mr. Sastri may be made a Governor, the people will be satisfied. These political nostrums are futile in the face of the distressful condition of the people in the matter of the bare necessities of life. This simple proposition politicians in England and in India who take their cue from books and talk of dyarchy and self-government within the Empire have never appreciated. India has been ruined by the reforming zeal of English administrators since Lord Curzon, and our difficulties are great and they have increased largely on account of the activities of the agitators agitating for what every thinking man in this country knows are mere sky-flowers in the expressive language of Sanskrit phraseology, which have led to disturbances of peace and order. Such disturbances cannot but be put down by all responsible

Governments. Just take on instance, we are required to add Rs. 2,34,000 to our burdens for providing comfortable jails to persons who in their mistaken sense of patriotism insist on breaking the law and going to jail. Socrates's observation while he was in prison awaiting the cup of poison for killing him, when he was asked by his friends, to escape should be remembered by my countrymen. Socrates refused to escape the poison cup on the ground that the laws of a country must be obeyed for disobedience to them leads to anarchy and ruin. What are we, the poor people of this country, to do? We who do not want political rights and high offices with large salaries, we who want peace and order, who do not want to see our schools and colleges empty but who wish more of them and more full than at present, we who want technical education, progress in industries and commerce, we who want medical relief and drinking-water, where are we to go? Sir, I came to this Council with high hopes of doing good to my people. I have had passed in this Council resolutions covering most of the objects for which I said I sought election. But they have proved futile because of the unsympathetic conduct of our Ministers who, though very rich men in their nervousness for their salaries, have missed great opportunities which God placed in their hands for doing good. If I find that next year's Budget is as dismal as this year's I shall not trouble you with my presence.

Babu JOGESH CHANDRA SARKAR: The Budget which has been presented to the Council this year is again a deficit Budget. The deficit is proposed to be made up by fresh taxation which, it is hoped, will produce revenue sufficient for the present. Last year the Hon'ble the Finance Member held out hopes that no additional taxation would be necessary to meet the annual expenditure, but within a few months our hopes were falsified, and we were asked to vote for additional taxation.

Increment to the salaries of ministerial officers and menials was a necessary corollary to the increments allowed to the Gazetted Officers on the ground of high prices as a direct result of the war, but the claims of those who were most in need of relief, are being considered at a time when things were returning to their normal condition. The ground on which the increments were given is apparently lost sight of, and increments once given stand irrevocable whether the causes that led to it exist or not. In a few years we will be accustomed to this increased expenditure, and then we will be again told to find fresh sources of revenue with the further expansion of expenditure. When we clamour for retrenchment, we are told that certain useful works have been stopped, but no one seems to understand that retrenchment also means curtailment of normal expenditure without, of course, sacrificing efficiency. India is one of the poorest countries on the face of the earth, but unfortunately, it has become saddled with the costliest of administrations. I hope wiser counsels will prevail, and a permanent retrenchment committee will be formed which will ruthlessly apply the pruning-knife to every department.

Turning to the Department of Education, we are disappointed to find no mention even of any scheme of Primary Education which we all expected would be prominent feature of the Budget. When Mr. Biss was deputed to formulate a comprehensive scheme of Primary Education, the whole country thought that after all the cause of all our woes—the darkness of ignorance—would be soon dispelled. We are now told that the scheme prepared by Mr Biss cannot be taken up on account of paucity of funds. We earnestly hope the Hon'ble Minister will devise means to give effect to it partly year by year

The Calcutta University and many other educational institutions have been hard hit by the non-co-operation movement, and some of them are tottering to their very foundations I need scarcely say that it is the duty of the Government to save these institutions by timely help.

I am sorry it was not possible for the Agricultural Department to arrange to impart agricultural education by the establishment of schools. I hope adequate provision for giving effect to this policy will be made in the Budget, and a combined Agricultural and Industrial school will be established at Rangpur which is the headquarters of the Department in North Bengal I am afraid the scheme will not be a very expensive one, as the existing lands and buildings of the Demonstration Farm and also of the Technical School, may be utilised for this purpose.

It is gratifying to note that it is proposed to colonize the Sunderbans on a large scale by letting out lands on the raiyatwari system. The reclaimed lands would be fit for paddy cultivation, and it is expected that the expenditure incurred will be highly remunerative On the same principle, the lands in Khas Mehals of the Dooars should be ungrudgingly let out for the cultivation of tea Every facility should be given to the promoters of tea companies to acquire lands for this purpose, as these companies are always ready to pay higher salaries, and there is no trouble about the realization of rents The policy hitherto followed has been unfavourable to the growth of the industry, especially from the Indian standpoint, but I hope that under the able administration of the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur the old policy of reserving lands suitable for tea for the cultivation of paddy, will be abandoned

Mr. HUSEYN SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY: Once more, we have been presented with an admittedly unsatisfactory Budget without policy, without vision, but replete with self-satisfaction, dominated with omniscience and a perpetuation of all the accumulated evils of the past There we have the old familiar features—a police burden with the heavy duties of law and order—wielders of law and order which they well know how to apply on bare backs and unprotected heads—forming in their turn a burden, an unsupportable burden, on our resources, a top-heavy administration with its staff of diminishing magnitude lessening, but never vanishing, and a number of sinecure departments, manned by efficient officers clamouring for work, a replica, shall we say, of a sister institution in this very city

with workers ready for work but none to work for. No attempt has been made to justify the taxes and lessen their odium, no attempt to delete departments that may serve their purpose in the dim and distant future, but which might give way for more pressing and insistent needs, such as may benefit the masses from whom the taxation will be derived. We have shouted ourselves hoarse for retrenchments and yet Government persists in its obstinacy—and naively trusts to standing committees with limited powers, limited informaton, limited time and limited opportunities, to point out the way. Retrenchments must be effected and can be effected, if only the wise people in the Government choose to acknowledge their limitations and not shrink from a scrutiny by an independent committee. I know it is difficult, humanly impossible, for this Government to acknowledge its errors, but that is our only salvation. To compare great things with small, but keeping in mind that human nature and departmental vanities are alike all over the world, the Navy Department in England has in reply to the drastic changes of the Geddes Committee, condescended to a curtailment of 2 millions in 81 millions with an appeal to efficiency, assurances of peace, and law and order and such like war-cries which form the fetish of all effete but expensive administrations. Let the Government, if only to demonstrate its genuineness and its reforming spirit, if only to demonstrate its anxiety for the welfare of the masses, if only to show that its purpose is not merely to preserve law and order but to better the condition of the people, if only to show sympathy with a people that it has no sympathy with, let the Government spontaneously appoint such a committee and win back a certain degree of fair name and confidence which, by its present policy, it has forfeited for, I almost said, all time to come. For cast it not in our teeth that retrenchments cannot be effected. Credulous though we are, and we know that the Government has ascertained it as well as the springs of our credulity, we feel that they can be, and the Bombay Legislative Council, to whom all honour and glory, feel that they can be and must be, and that the reforms have come in not to perpetuate a system born in expensiveness, but to reform it in accordance with the conditions of the country. And if the Government pays no heed to the feeling, and being hard-headed as it is hard-hearted, wants intimate facts and figures and still more facts and figures, and not innuendoes and insinuations from a private member, as it has always asked, with a constancy worthy of a plausible argument, I say that if I knew, or we knew, more of the inner workings of these departments, if I was or we were the Finance Member, or the Political Member, or any Member or all rolled into one, or many, or a head of a department we could have given sufficient information to satisfy the Hon'ble Member that all is not based on thin air.

And while retrenchments have not been made in plethoric departments, the weak have been ground down. The Ministers with a magnanimity and a sacrifice which has earned for them the reputation of sanity and sobriety, have given up demands which may vitally help the poor, so

that provision should be made for some more Deputy-Secretaries or Secretaries, for this Council, for Agriculture and Industries, for Finance, Commerce and Marine, there being so patently, so obviously, such few officers in the higher services. While miserable sub-registrars starve on back pay, and are being forced to resort to measures that prevail in the most petted departments of Government, while their pathetic condition continues to receive the anxious consideration of the Hon'ble Minister and schemes continue to be shunted from Department to Department, while this rank shame and injustice, this blot on the administration is being continued in hopes that after they too have been forced by necessity to catch the contagion of bribery they will quieten in due course. The Public Works Department continues to drain money like a sieve, and dissipate it far and wide; the Agricultural Department does immensely beneficial work on paper, and Divisional Commissioners look round anxiously for work to justify their existence. No attention paid to Irrigation, none to Commerce and Industries, while Primary Education, being insistent, is eternally snubbed. If I am permitted, I shall touch upon just a few items. There is one aspect of education that is growing in the importance, and that has been soundly tested and found of immense value—that is the practical training imparted by the Boy Scout movement, in the fashioning of future citizens equipped with the foundation of a real culture, and not inflicted with a lob-sided, paralytic education imparted by modern schools. This movement is entirely non-official and is carried on by private persons who sacrifice a considerable portion of their time, energy and leisure to what they consider is true service to the boyhood of India. I mention no names for in this movement the men work silently, and their privilege is to know that they work and those who spoil work by rewards and recognition do not know of their existence. By the very terms of this movement it can never become a Government movement or an official movement. But yet this cannot preclude the Government from making some sort of a grant to the provincial organisation here which may be utilised for the training of scout-masters, and for the general encouragement of scouting in Bengal. From education as it should be to the University does not strain the imagination. The Calcutta University is suffering under a deficit; but the deficit is such as has been brought on by its own policy, the policy that we find embodied here and if we are dissatisfied with the condition of this administration, we cannot rest content with the other. I only wish that the committee asked for by this Council had been able to meet and submit its report and then we would not have been in a better position to reconsider our views. And lastly, Sir, the Hon'ble Member may have spared himself the trouble of putting before us an elaborate Budget, in perpetrating a huge joke on the Council and on the Reforms. We have seen through it all, and we suffer under no disillusion that our opinion carries any weight with the Government. We come here to register opinions, and we give Government liberty and power to flout us at its will—to our

eternal shame and discredit. Government must surely have recognised it, though I must admit that in political matters its vision is rather limited, and it may rest content that the Council having surrendered its weapons, it need have no fear that the Budget will have any real opponents.

Babu BHISHMADEV DAS: The Budget presented is more disappointing than that of the current year. The huge deficit is sought to be met by taxation. It is painful to hear that it provides nothing more than the bare needs of administration and makes no provision for any new schemes. Administration has been made so expensive that there is no chance of improvement unless retrenchment is effected to a very considerable extent. The people pay the taxes but cannot get the corresponding benefits. The agriculturists are steeped in ignorance. The cesses and taxes realised from them are spent on improvements in enlightened localities. They die of cholera, malaria and influenza without medical treatment. No tank or well is excavated to provide them with good drinking water. Pargana Telihati in Faridpur and its neighbourhood are inhabited mostly by agriculturists. Although they are paying the cesses and taxes for generations, almost nothing has been spent for them either in constructing any road or excavating a tank or khal. A considerable area by the side of Tetulia Khal remains under water for the last 12 or 13 years owing to insufficient drainage, though formerly it would dry and become culturable. This has been brought to the notice of the Government many times, and I understand that the local people submitted a petition to the Collector, Faridpur, under the Agriculture and Sanitary Improvements Acts, but nothing appears to have been done as yet. The district board having realised the necessity of excavating the Tetulia-Sripur Khal and after making survey and estimates, excavated a small portion near Sripur but did not proceed further for reasons best known to the Board. I invite the serious attention of Government to make this urgent improvement. The cost might be recovered under the Act from the landlords and, if necessary, some portion from the tenants.

It is to be regretted that the Budget makes no adequate provision for the spread of education amongst the backward or depressed classes. As in the case of Muhammadan and European education there should be some special officers to look after their education and provision should be made for more hostels, scholarships, and free-studentships for them. The Hon'ble Minister in charge of Medical Department has issued a *communiqué* to the effect that students of these classes may get admission into the Medical College and schools, but he does not realise the necessity of providing special facilities for their admission. Special provision should be made for their admission into Medical, Engineering, Training, Commercial, Agriculture, Sanitary, Veterinary and all other schools and colleges and railway workshops.

As to other items, I suggest that the expenses of steam-launches ought to be curtailed. And while the poor people are going to be burdened with heavy taxation in every sphere, *e.g.*, in litigation, in purchase and sale of lands, railway fares, union rates, etc., especially at a time when agricultural produce, particularly jute, is selling at a rate below the cost of production, it is really to be regretted that the luxury of Government servants in some departments is on the increase. As touring officers are paid double railway fares each way and as there has been increase in fares, more profit by travelling and travelling for the sake of profit has been more prevalent than formerly. Subdivisional magistrates and Excise officers sometimes draw as much as Rs. 400 per month. It is high time that the nomination of subdivisional officers as members of district boards should cease. These officers have no place in the local boards now, and there is no reason to nominate them as district board members and to give them huge sums as travelling allowance. The river police is a useless organisation which is looked upon as oppressors by the law-abiding people. The agricultural officers are lucky in holding sinecure posts. Whenever they stir out, it is to bring some money as travelling allowance. They seldom mix with the people and take very little interest in their welfare. The same is the case with the fishery and veterinary officers. The Department of Agriculture may work in co-opeartion with the jails, and prisoners from the agriculturist classes may be given practical training on improved methods of agriculture. The officers of this department should be recruited from the cultivating classes.

Mr. RAZAUR RAHMAN KHAN: Although one cannot congratulate the Hon'ble the Finance Member on the Budget which he has presented to us, yet we think that our sympathy is due to him for all that he has done with a deficit of over one crore before him and with no prospects. With an expenditure increasing on all sides he has tried to do the best he could under the adverse circumstances.

The difficulties of the Hon'ble the Finance Member are due to the system itself. I am not one of those incorrigible impatients who believe that weak nurselings of a year old can attain to the full stature of, and possess the same vitality and resources as, England and other full-grown nations of the civilized world. We are just in the throes of a great experiment; we are just beginning to see things. We are just learning how to govern ourselves and to prepare new schemes for our future.

The defect is in the system itself. What we want is to reconstitute the whole service and overhaul the whole machinery of the administration. Without that there cannot be any salvation for Bengal. Nearly Rs. 5 crores is swallowed up at present by administration charges. We do not want that. We want to Indianise the services; by "Indianisation" I do not mean that Indians should be placed

on the same pay as the Europeans who come out from outside and who naturally require more pay from the Government; by "Indianising" I mean "economising." Take, for instance, the present number of candidates who are going to be recruited for the Civil Service in India. The same men whom we could have got in the Provincial Service on Rs. 250 are going to be given a salary of Rs. 500 only because we want to Indianise the service. If we really want economy we want that the various services in the province should be reconstituted on an economic basis.

There is another thing. The Hon'ble Finance Member has stated that the standing committees were taken into confidence; but I do not think I know as a member of a standing committee myself—that ample evidence and details were placed before the standing committee, and I hope next year the Hon'ble Member will find himself in a position to place better materials, more details, at the earliest stage before the standing committees. These standing committees, if they were given full power of scrutinising the entire items of the Budget, would be able to do a lot of things. It is true that in the Budget we have not got all that we wanted. We find the expenditure on the reserved sides growing up and they are to be fed at the cost of the transferred departments; in consequence, little has been bestowed on these departments. What we expected this year was that our Ministers would now be in a position to adumbrate some new policy and place before us some matured scheme for our consideration; but we learn that they have not been able even to utilise the money that they were given last year We do not want these things I hope next year they will be in a better position and will be able to place new schemes before us.

There is an idea abroad about capitalisation, and I think if we get the three Bills passed, we shall be in a position to float a loan to do more work for the transferred departments So, although one cannot well congratulate the Government on the Budget which they have presented, yet we must see facts as they are and we must be satisfied with the best that could be done under the adverse circumstances. We are trying to do the best that we can and hope that with the inauguration of full provincial autonomy we shall be in a better position to work things ourselves and initiate a more generous programme for our country.

Khan Bahadur KHWAJA MOHAMED AZAM: I do not wish to take the time of the Council by making a lengthy statement about the financial position of Bengal in the light of the Budget estimate for the year 1922-23 presented by the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr. It is a dismal statement in all conscience, but credit must be given to Government for the steadfast manner in which it has tried to effect retrenchments all round. We must admit that the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr has exerted his utmost to make the best of a bad job.

As a representative of Dacca and a member of the Executive Council of the Dacca University, I feel, I should thank the Finance Member and Minister in charge of Education for the provision of Rs. 9 lakhs for the Dacca University. We ought to have much more, but at a time like this, we should be thankful even for small mercies.

The Department of Fisheries has, in my humble opinion, done no useful work and I beg to affirm that Rs. 45,000 included in the revised estimate might have been spent for a more laudable object.

The Dacca Sewerage Scheme has long been a crying necessity and I am pleased to find that Rs. 5 lakhs have been provided for the same.

Retrenchment is the order of the day and I think that my hon'ble colleagues will agree with me in thinking that all unnecessary expenditure should be rigidly curtailed.

It is needless to say that we have been very shabbily treated by the Government of India, but that is no reason why we should not put our own house in order.

Babu NALINI NATH ROY: After many years of British rule and sacrifices made during the recent war, it was thought, both in this country and in England, that the people of the country should be given an effective voice in its administration. The result of this thought, has been the Government of India Act, which has given a substantial measure of self-government to the people of India. I cannot, neither can the other members of this Council, refuse to believe that a substantial measure of self-government has been granted to the people of India; for if we do so, our proper place would be not the inside of this Hall but outside of it, far away from it. If any one amongst us refuses to believe, that a substantial measure of self-government has not been given what has been given is not real and substantial, his place lies in the camp of non-co-operators. It is certainly our destiny to believe that the Government of India is real and it has conferred a substantial measure of self-government to the people of this country. I look around me to detect evidence of this substantial measure. I am asked by my countrymen to point out to them real evidence of his substantial measure, and I look in vain. I do not know what a microscope will reveal, but my poor eyes, unaided by instruments of magnification, fail to detect any evidence of a substantial measure of self-government. The principal function of Government in the shape of self-government, maintenance of internal peace, army and navy, etc., is necessarily shut out from my view, but the ways and means, the disposal of the money that can be saved after making provisions for primary needs of Government are not necessarily shut out from my view. Here, at least, here in the pages of the Budget, I should find evidence of substantial measure of self-government and should be able to tell my countrymen, "Look here, gentlemen, here is popular control in the pages of this Budget."

On comparing this Budget and its predecessor with that of another year, when Government was not yet reformed, I find no change of spirit in their framing. It is the same old spirit coming over and over again—I would rather say—the same old spectre showing over and over again. I shall be told that I must be blind not to detect changes in the Budget. "Is there not financial stringency manifest in every page?" Certainly it is manifest. But still more manifest is the same old spirit. Whatever the revenue may be, the spirit in which it is being allotted for different purposes, is the same. Not only does this spirit not show any change during these periods of financial stringency but it shows itself in all its nakedness. it is the spirit descended from the good old days of John Company. There is another spirit in which budgets may be framed to meet more urgent necessities of the people of the country, to save the people from annihilation through poverty and disease. I shall be told in reply that some provision has been made in the Budget for sanitation and education; I shall be told that the spirit is there but no more can be done for want of funds; and I shall be told that the necessary arrangements are going to be made when the Council will pass the taxation Bills (of course permanently) all the ills that the country is "heir to" will be remedied. Well and good! I find a sum of Rs. 30,000 budgeted for easing the bend at Gazi khal, to make the entrance to the khal easier of negotiation by inland steamers, this sum of money is not needed for an absolute necessity of trade, but for making the passage of trade smoother. I call this sort of expenditure a commercial luxury, financial stringency is not enough reason in this case! Neither is it pleaded that works of this character should be financed through loans, why? Because of the old spirit of budget-making. It is the spirit inherited from the past company Government of providing facilities for pushing on British trade at the cost of tax-payers. I will call it the "trade" spirit. Even if this work is an absolute necessity, why do the companies concerned not do it at their own cost? Why is public money budgeted for their benefit? While the bend of Gazi khal is being eased at public expense for the carriage of Manchester cloth, Liverpool salt and all of their kind to the bazars and hamlets of rural Bengal, the passage to eternity of thousands of the dwellers about Gazi khal is being smothered by malaria with all its incidence. When the question of saving these human beings rises, we are referred to loans for remedy and whenever it is a question of [illegible] and bats, public revenue is at service.

The provision of Rs. 7,97,000 in connection with the Madaripur Bil route is of the same character. Four lakhs of rupees was spent on this work last year and Rs. 7,97,000 is again asked for this year. Some of the irrigation works which were expected to be productive by the past administrator of this Province together with some others that are in contemplation will keep our revenue well employed for many years to come. It will be said that if this dredging is not done now, the money

that has been spent on these works will be lost. It is high time for the members of this Council to consider the matter seriously before passing the demand for grants, at least general revenues should not be spent after it. Whenever it is a question of sanitation or allied things, we are asked to look to loans for our salvation. Then why on earth should we spend our revenue on providing trade facilities? If the want of a genuine trade facility is felt, it should prove a paying proposition; otherwise it is not a genuine want, and if it is a paying work it should be financed by loan money.

A huge sum is demanded for the cost of dredgers for the Grand Trunk Canal. This is the thin end of the wedge. When the dredgers will appear, more money will be needed to provide work for them. If more money is not then provided, the argument will again be that the money spent on them will be lost. I should warn the Council against the attempt of some of the departments of Government to introduce this thin end of the wedge and after that go on arguing in a vicious circle; as long as this sort of argument is not stopped, productive Bil route and jungle routes will multiply in profuse number. It should be made quite clear to the executive, that if revenue is not available for nation-building, the nation will see that no revenue is provided for facilities for foreign trade.

I now come to something which is fraught with the most dangerous possibilities for the future: the provision for the Grand Trunk Canal, for sanitation, for the drainage of soils the water-logged condition of which is preventing the country from raising adequate food crops, for primary education and for all nation-building activities for checking the incidence of malaria which is daily leading the country to ruin and desolation. We have been told not to look to revenue but to loans. Now here is a rival to nation-building or to be more correct, nation-preserving activities. We should clearly decide about what we should prefer—preservation of the race of Bengalis or the Grand Trunk Canal. If we require both of these, that is to say, eradication of malaria and the Grand Trunk Canal, we must decide which of these we like first. The capacity of the country to raise loans is not unlimited. The eradication of malaria, the drainage of water-logged soils, the resuscitation of dead rivers will require some money. It will require every rupee that can be raised by loan, and more work can be done as well as half done. If the work of sanitation of Bengal is to be done in right earnest, for it will not do to have it half done, it will require every spare rupee and every ounce of energy of the country. The country should never allow half measures or make relief attempts at sanitation to save the face of this or that personage. If the policy of the framers of future budgets be such, no one will take the responsibility to make the Reforms a success, in Bengal at least.

I should be failing in my duty if I do not say that the Grand Trunk Canal is a good project. It will facilitate trade, relieve the congestion

of Calcutta and send up land value where it is very low; but it still remains to be seen whether it will be a paying concern within 20 years to come. Unless the sanitation of Bengal is taken up with possible earnestness and promptitude will all the money that can be raised, the responsibility, as I have said before, to see that the Reforms prove a success will not be worth taking. The country is on the verge of collapse for want of sanitation, for want of adequate medical needs. The drainage of water-logged soils will add 20 per cent. to the crops which should go towards general prosperity of the masses. These are the things which should be taken up and completed first. The Grand Trunk Canal should await the introduction, and the driving home of the thin end of the wedge should be made impossible. The trade building spirit in the framing of the budgets should give place to the spirit of nation-building. If the spirit of the administration is to make the province the dumping-ground for foreign mearchandise and a paradise for foreign merchants, let it build not one but 100 Grand Trunk Canals. But if it is to be otherwise, if the voice of the tax-payer is to be heard, if evidences of substantial measures of self-government are to be displayed, if a change of spirit in the framing of the Budget is to be made manifest, let all works in connection with such schemes be postponed.

It will be said :" Who pays the revenue?" Do not the merchants pay a big share of the revenue and should nothing be done for them? Who made the province of Bengal what it has become? Is it not the merchants and nothing should be done for them?"

In reply I would ask "Who made these merchants?" Is it not the people of the country? Is it not the horny-handed sons of toil, labouring in their millions on the soil of the country to produce wealth for all? Should they not have the first claim on this wealth of the country; be it revenue or be it loan? Because merchants pay income-tax, customs duty, and all such charges it is not correct economic science to conceive that the incidence of such taxes falls ultimately on them. It is the toiling millions who ultimately pay for all these taxes and many more, with the sweat of their brow. I would remind the merchants that one Bengali peasant dying from malaria, Manchester is one customer the less.

The Hon'ble the Finance Member has said, "our hopes that we will receive support from the members of the standing committees in the matter of retrenchment have not been fulfilled. The proceedings of the standing committees show that they went through the budget carefully and thoroughly, and the fact that they have not been able to suggest any further retrenchment supports our contention that it is not possible to go further in the way of cutting down the demands of various departments for the money they require to carry out the bare essentials of their administrative responsibilities."

I say in reply to this statement that it all depends on the spirit in which administrative responsibilities are understood whether retrenchment can be made or not; and in what direction. If the trade spirit is done away with, the following reduction in the Department of Irrigation can be made:—

(1) Rs. 30,000 in Gazi khal.

(2) Rs. 7,88,000 in Madaripur Bil route.

(3) Rs. 9,000 construction of level in Madaripur Bil route.

(4) Rs. 1,09,000 in Grand Trunk Canal.

Total Rs. 9,36,000 excluding the dredgers for the Grand Trunk Canal.

Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray has already pointed out that in Irrigation, Government had been spending annually Rs. 58 lakhs in interest and in working expenses, while its receipts amounted only to Rs. 11 lakhs I need not repeat those arguments again.

In conclusion, I only remind the Government members of the words of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught who, when he visited India, said, "you have at your doors the three great causes of unhappiness and unrest, ignorance, insanitary condition of life and cruel inequalities in all that makes life worth living."

Maulvi MAHAMMED MADASSUR HUSSAIN: The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr has frankly admitted that the Budget which he has presented is not a production of which anyone can feel proud. He has confessed that the Budget will give no satisfaction and it is open to criticism on the ground that it showed lack of imagination and no signs of any constructive programme on the part of Ministers. In fact the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr has plainly stated that the Budget does not profess to do more than provide for the bare needs of the administration and that it will not show any indications of a broad and generous programme for the improvement of the conditions of life in this Presidency. In the face of this straightforward and frank admission it is useless and mere waste of time to offer comments that the Budget is not satisfactory The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr has confessed judgment and it requires no argument and reasoning to show this fact.

It seems to me that it is impossible to cut down expenditure and effect any economy if we follow the beaten track. To my mind, in order to effect economy and retrenchment we must revolutionise the whole system of administration and we must cut down the salary of all the officers who belong to the imperial, provincial and subordinate services. We must abolish some unnecessary and sinecure posts and consolidate some others. Unless this is done it is useless to talk over increased expenditure. Unless this is done the Reforms will prove a curse instead of blessing. It will bring discontent and daily increasing burden without commensurate benefit. If this Council is really bent upon retrenchment and economy it behoves the Council and the Government to appoint a

committee in order to reduce the salary and posts and suggesting other measures by which the administration may be carried on more cheaply and efficiently. Unless this is done and economy effected, for my mind, it is useless to offer comments on minor details. The Government is bound to carry on administration as it is and it has no other alternative but to do so in the manner that it is doing. Under these circumstances, I refrain from making any comment on minor details and only hope that the surplus which may be left after meeting the ordinary expenses may be devoted to the improvement of water-supply, agriculture and education. By improvement of agriculture, education and sanitation, I do not mean appointment of more sanitary, agricultural, supervising and educational officers but by providing more wells, re-excavating tanks, removal of insanitary surroundings and establishing more schools and providing facilities for better irrigation and supply of good seeds and manure. I am sorry to note that whenever the Government talk of any improvement they simply appoint officers but the real thing they do not do as if improvement is effected simply by maintaining a department and certain number of officers. As an example I may cite the appointments of Deputy Directors of Agriculture, Superintendent of Agriculture, Director of Fisheries and Industries. The curse of the present administration is that it has got too many supervising officers while there is a great dearth of officers who really carry on the work. There are some departments which are absolutely useless and do no practical or good work beyond writing reports. I would at once abolish these departments and numerous superior officials such as Commissioners, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Assistant Registrars, Deputy-Registrar of Co-operative Societies and numerous other posts into the details of which I would not enter. I would make provision for compulsory arbitration in order to save people from ruinous litigation which will reduce the number of judicial officers.

Babu TANKANATH CHAUDHURI: It is easy to see that a deficit Budget has been placed before us. In it we find the same figures with which the Budget of the last year was framed. I would make one or two observations on a few heads of expenditure. Let me come to the head "Medical." In the last year's Budget, we found that there was not much provision for the needs of the mufassal. In this year's Budget also we find that the mufassal has been rather neglected. Sir, the money that is going to be spent is going to be spent on Calcutta only, and a very small amount is left for the relief of distress in the mufassal. If we look a bit into the details of the Budget we find that although there is a provision of Rs. 3,32,000 for mufassal hospitals and dispensaries, a sum of Rs. 1,54,000 goes to the Mitford Hospital at Dacca and so only Rs. 1,78,000 would be available for distribution in the whole area of Bengal. In fact, I do not find that any money is provided in the Budget

for helping the local bodies in their battle against malaria and other fell diseases which are carrying away the people of the country. Sir, the Hon'ble Minister in charge of "Medical" says that he cannot get more money. We can readily appreciate his difficulties. The circumstances in which the finances of Bengal stand at present cannot permit our Ministers to find more money for useful purposes. Sir, we have been hearing since the last year that the Meston award is responsible for all these difficulties. The tax on jute which amounts to more than Rs. 2 crores has been snatched away from us. Malaria is eating into the vitals of the people of Bengal, and it is a known fact that jute is responsible to a great extent for the malaria in this province, and we know that the income derived from the cause of malaria is being snatched away from us, and if we are to get back that money we should drive away malaria from the province. We should make an attempt to get back our dues. We should all join hands and try to get back what has been snatched away from us, and we should concentrate our energies upon making every effort constitutionally to get back our dues.

Now, I would refer to the Public Works Department, which has been rightly called the Public Waste Department. Large sums of money are being budgeted for expenditure under this head. Most of the money which is going to be spent would be quite unproductive; I would refer to one item only. At the moment, we are going to spend nearly Rs. 88 lakhs for communications; when people in less favoured districts come forward for getting some relief from Government, the invariable reply that they get is that the local needs should be looked after by the local bodies. When this reply is being given to some of the unfortunate districts, why should the fortunate districts absorb such a large amount of public revenue—I mean the districts of Bankura, Jalpaiguri, 24-Parganas and Burdwan? We think that because some European concerns have invested their money in these districts, therefore, these districts are being treated more favourably. I would like to know that I am mistaken in this opinion, but in Jalpaiguri there are big tea interests, in the 24-Parganas there are big mills which are owned by European capitalists; in Burdwan, perhaps, the coal industry on account of which Burdwan is getting so much protection from Government.

Now, I would refer to another item, that is item 55.—Construction of Irrigation and Navigation, and so on. Large sums of money are going to be spent under this head; we can easily cut down that expenditure, and in this year when we are going to impose fresh taxation for carrying on the administration, I do not think it is wise on the part of Government to spend so much money on unproductive navigation and embankment schemes.

One more word and I have finished; there is a provision of nearly Rs. 8 lakhs for a lunatic asylum at Ranchi; if lunacy is so much on the

increase in Bengal that we should have to increase our expenditure year after year, then two or three years back rupees one lakh and a few thousand would have sufficed for the cost of a lunatic asylum. Last year we spent Rs. 8 lakhs, and we are now going to spend the same sum again this year. When we are going to pass three new taxation Bills, we should try our best to retrench our expenditure and bring it down to the lowest possible level, otherwise the policy of Government might exasperate the people and it would not be wise for Government to face the anger of the people generally. With these few words, I conclude my remarks.

Babu HEM CHANDRA BHATTACHARJI addressed the Council in the vernacular. The following is the English translation of his speech:—

I find very large sums spent on various departments which do not benefit the poor men, namely, the tax-payers I find very little provision for the large body of working classes whose labour contributes to the wealth of the nation. It seems that the principle of expenditure is to oil over-oiled heads, that is to say, help those who do not want your help. In villages, thousands drink dirty water and contract disease. No provision is made for excavation of tanks Every help is given to those who can agitate but none for the poor dumb millions because they are too ignorant to agitate.

I do not see any necessity of maintaining a permanent press in Darjeeling costing Rs 36,000 a year Surely, the short stay of the big officials there in summer does not require a big press like that. Then I find special press is maintained in Government House at a cost of Rs. 12,000 for Private Secretary's printing work. Surely the Secretariat Press can do the work in their ordinary course. I find that permanent hands in the press, in the composing branch get poor salaries, not even Rs 28 a month. Fourteen auxiliaries in the Composing branch get Rs. 4,728 a year, namely, Rs 28 a month

Mr. D. J. COHEN: The Budget presented to us is disappointing, but I must frankly admit this was fully anticipated. The Reforms scheme in order to prove a success, must receive the cordial support of the general public, which includes the members of this Council. The result can only be achieved if by any manner of means without increasing taxation, we can have sufficient money to carry out schemes of public utility, schemes of sanitation, education and industries. At the present moment the Government, it appears, have to carry on an impossible task, to keep up the top-heavy expenditure of the administration, and yet to carry out schemes for the amelioration of the people of the province. It has already been pointed out by more than one speaker the regrettable fact that while England has taken the initiative to retrench expenditure, we, working with a heavy deficit, should take no steps in this direction.

I urge upon the Government, the immediate appointment of a strong retrenchment committee with powers to apply the pruning-knife wherever it is possible to do so. The public ask for this, and they have a right to be satisfied in this direction.

Turning now to the different items in the budget, I entirely agree with Dr. Dutt that we can very well dispense with the services of the additional two magistrates, and the new traffic court. As far as the departments under the Ministers are concerned, anyone interested in the affairs of the country must admit that their achievement during the past year are disappointing. We are told that they have formulated certain schemes, and I venture to submit that if they had taken us the non-official members of this Council into their confidence, much of the criticism against their work might have been avoided. It is no use, in my opinion, to have costly establishments, magnificent buildings without sufficient money to keep the hands of our officers fully engaged.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ABDUL JUBBAR PAHLOWAN: I stand amidst dismay and despair and amidst heavy demands for governing body and the cry of inability of the people to pay heavy taxes to discuss the present Budget. Last year, when I was discussing the Budget, I asked the Council to throw away the Budget as it was a deficit one. I also pointed out then that if we accepted the Budget as it stood, the result would be fresh taxation upon the famine-stricken and half-fed people of Bengal. But my cry was a cry in the wilderness, because a majority of the members of this Council being unacquainted with the real needs of the poor people could not realise the situation. However, my apprehensions turned into reality in January last when the Hon'ble Finance Member brought the three taxation Bills before the Council, but even then the eyes of some of my colleagues were not opened. Some of the representatives of the people who really have the welfare of the country at heart and who sympathise with the poor sons of the soil and myself opposed the introduction of the Bills and tried our level best to have the Bills rejected by the Council, but to no effect; and the Bills were introduced.

Now, Sir, the Budget is before us. To-day also I ask the Council to consider whether Government is justified in putting forward such a Budget before making retrenchment in all the branches of the administration? Can any one tell me what has emboldened the Government to place such a Budget before the Council? Somebody might answer that either the Government does not care for our opinion or that Government from its past experience knows full well that the Budget cannot but be accepted by the Council. Whatever that may be, I again appeal to the Council to reject this Budget. There does not appear to be any attempt made in the Budget to make the Reforms a success, but rather a clear policy is laid down therein which goes against the success of the Reforms. I fail to understand the object of such a policy. A major

portion of the revenue is budgeted to be spent on the pay of the governing body, and very little is left for the nation-building departments—far less to save the people from the attacks of famine, malaria and other diseases. Sir, I ask one question of the Council. What is the Government meant for? Is it to exact from the people money to be spent for the maintenance of its establishment and to raise the cost of administration so high as would ultimately make itself unable to pay and at last obliged to say, "No" especially at the time when the people are supposed to be disloyal and are killed like cats and dogs in the name of law and order? Sir, if the present policy of the Government is not changed, I fear a state of anarchy may grow up to destroy the peace of the country. What is the present political agitation for and why are the masses joining it? It is true that the Muhammadans have joined the agitation as a religious duty, but why have the people of the other communities joined it? The reason is obvious; the people have been affected much by the high prices of the bare necessaries of life and taxes, both direct and indirect. They want relief. And if no relief is given, I think the construction of 100 such jails as has been started at Kanchrapara will not be the least remedy to the present political unrest. The Hon'ble Finance Member may compare the rate of tax paid by an individual in Bengal with the rate paid in any other country and say that our rates are much lower. To that I would reply that Bengal is much poorer than any other country. I may state a story here which has much bearing on the present circumstances of Bengal. One man was sent to jail for three months. On the expiry of this period when he came back to his house, he was attacked with cholera; his father said had he been still in jail, he would certainly not have been attacked with this fell disease. This is the present condition of life in villages; people would prefer jails to their own houses. This is the condition for which Government is responsible and partly its supporters. If no remedy could be found for this state of things, I think it will make the condition far worse.

With these few words, I conclude my remarks.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: I think all non-official members who desired to speak on the Budget have done so. I would now call upon the official members to reply.

MINISTER in charge of DEPARTMENT of LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea): Is it not the time for adjournment, Sir?

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: If you desire it, I can adjourn the House now.

The Hon'ble Sir SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA: I think that would be better.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: Then I adjourn the House for 15 minutes.

At this stage the Council was adjourned for 15 minutes.

After the adjournment.

MINISTER in charge of DEPARTMENTS of AGRICULTURE and INDUSTRIES and PUBLIC WORKS. (the Hon'ble the Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, Khan Bahadur): There are two preliminary points to which I shall first refer. In the first place, some members of the Council have expressed disappointment at not finding in the budget any indication, in the shape of new schemes, of the Ministers' policy. I had hoped that after the explanation given by the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Finance Department the members of the Council would have realised the meaning of a deficit budget. There is no place for new schemes in it. The Budget as framed makes the minimum provision for maintaining the departments in their present state and all new expenditure of any kind has been rigidly excluded. Then, Sir, it has been said the revised estimates show that Ministers have not been able to spend their allotments. This again is not correct. In the beginning of October last, all departments were informed that no new schemes could be sanctioned, and, therefore, the money provided for them could not be utilized. Orders were issued to enforce every possible retrenchment and to exercise the strictest economy, and this is the principal reason why the revised estimates show savings.

The main heads of the Budget with which I have to deal are Excise, Agriculture, including Co-operative Societies and Veterinary and Industries. Though the strictest economy has been enforced during the past year and the expenditure on new schemes has been entirely stopped, the departments under me are able to report satisfactory progress during the past year

I shall deal first with the Excise Department. The principal improvements introduced in this department during 1921-22 have been the total abolition of the auction system and its replacement by the fixed-fee system. The auction system had for many years past been generally condemned, and the fixed-fee system which was introduced tentatively in certain districts was found to be a distinct improvement. On the 1st of October last, it was introduced in all the districts of the Presidency. The opportunity offered by this system was taken to make an appreciable increase in the taxation and prices of excisable articles, especially of country liquor in certain areas where consumption was found to be increasingly rapidly. There has been a decrease in the consumption of country liquor in the ten months ending January last to the extent of 1,50,000 gallons or 22 per cent. of the total consumption. The consumption of *ganja* and opium also shows a very considerable decrease. Naturally, this decrease in consumption was accompanied by decrease in revenue which fell from Rs. 1,65,00,000 during

the first ten months of the previous year to Rs. 1,51,00,000 in the first ten months of the current year. This decrease in revenue and consumption, as already stated, was partly due to the increase in taxation, partly to the picketing of the shops by non-co-operators and partly to the general depression in trade which has prevailed. As trade improves, an increase in revenue is probable, but any serious increase in consumption will be carefully watched and where necessary will be checked by the enhancement of prices and other restrictive measures. An important departure made during the year was the reduction of taxation on alcohol required for industrial purposes. The result of this reduction was that the quantity of rectified alcohol used in Bengal during the period from December to March in the manufacture of medicines, etc., increased from 7,783 gallons to 27,525 gallons, while the revenue increased from Rs. 78,000 to Rs. 1,37,000. Further measures taken to restrict consumption include reduction in the number of excise shops. On the 1st April next there will be 989 spirit shops in the province as compared with 1,120 shops on the 1st of April last. *Ganja* shops will be reduced from 1,267 to 1,184, and appreciable reduction will also be effected in the case of other excise shops. Measures will also be taken to regulate more effectively traffic in foreign liquor. The hours of sale of excise articles have been reduced and the limit of private possession of country spirit has also been restricted. It will thus be seen that Government have already taken effective steps to carry out the recommendations contained in the resolution moved by Professor S. C. Mukherji and carried by this Council on the 1st September last.

As regards the question of local option, the matter is a complicated one. It requires very full and careful consideration, and this it is now receiving from Government. I trust that I shall before long be able to make a definite statement as to how the matter stands and what steps we propose to take. I may state that at present the Licensing Board in Calcutta exercise all the powers and functions of a Collector in deciding the number and location of excise shops. In the districts, the Collector is helped by the Advisory Committee for each local area in deciding as to the number and location of shops. All the recommendations of these committees have been given effect to, except in certain cases where the Advisory Committees recommend the total abolition of all excise and opium shops in their respective areas.

During the year an increase of pay was given to all grades of officers in the Excise Department to put them on a level with the officers of other departments of the same standing.

The next head with which I am concerned is head "34.—Agriculture." This includes the Veterinary Department, the Agriculture Department proper and the Department of Co-operative Societies.

The work of the Veterinary Department was conducted on much the same lines as in the previous year. The number of veterinary assistants was slightly increased during the year, and there are now altogether 109 of these officers, most of whom are employed by local bodies. These bodies pay two-thirds of the cost of these officers' pay and local allowances and the whole of all other expenses incurred on veterinary work.

The Department of Agriculture, though hampered by want of funds and want of staff, has made distinct progress during the past year. Among the most important features of the Department's work was the reorganisation of the Seed Distribution Scheme. The members of the Council are aware how important this scheme is for the welfare of the province and what popularity has been secured by departmental seeds, as, for instance, jute and paddy seed and sugar cane cuttings. Up to the present the main difficulties felt by this department have been the inadequate supply of seed and the immense amount of work involved in dealing with individual cultivators. The method of seed-distribution has now been re-organised. The Government farms instead of dealing with individual cultivators supply seed to private seed-farms which may belong to Co-operative Societies, Court of Wards' Estates, to Government estates or to private zamindars. These private farms propagate the seeds which they receive from Government farms and are inspected by district agricultural officers to ensure that the seed which they distribute is absolutely pure. Individual cultivators deal with these private seed-farms. By means of this scheme a large increase in the supply of seed available will be secured and at the same time the work of the department will be easier as its officers will deal with the private seed-farms and not with individual cultivators. I may say that over fifty of these private farms have already been started.

Another development which is likely to be of great importance is the organisation of Agricultural Associations on a co-operative basis. Up to the present, the Agricultural Associations have been rather loose organisations and the members have not had a close personal interest in their success. With the object of ensuring that each member shall, in future, have real personal interest in the welfare of the association to which he belongs, I have decided that in future these associations will be formed on co-operative lines. Three such associations have already been registered under the Act and several others are ready for registration. The object of these societies will be the propagation of Government seeds and its distribution to members, the co-operative product of manures and the co-operative sale of agricultural products. With regard to propagation of Government seeds, I may say that one society has already purchased 150 maunds of *kakya bombai* jute seed.

As the Council are aware, Government are aiming at the establishment of an agricultural farm in every district. During the year under

report, three new farms have been opened at Pabna, Bankura and Barisal and during the year under consideration land has also been acquired for farms at Faridpur, Suri and Murshidabad. At the two last-named places, though the buildings are not ready, work has been started on a temporary basis. Sites have been selected for a number of other farms and the plans are ready, but their constructions are held in abeyance until we can find money.

With regard to agricultural education, the middle vernacular schools have not been found altogether successful chiefly owing to the fact that they are too expensive. They have therefore been converted into secondary agricultural schools with the object of turning out *gurus* for four elementary agricultural schools and demonstrators. The scheme for the highest form of agricultural education to be provided in the Dacca Institute is ready and awaits only the allotment of funds. As regards elementary agricultural education, I have no doubt that the members of this Council have seen the resolution which was published a week ago on the subject. A scheme for the establishment of elementary agricultural schools which will also be demonstration centres for their neighbourhood has been worked out and we have invited public opinion on the subject. As soon as the views of the public have been received and considered, we shall effect any reforms that may be necessary in our scheme, and if funds can be found, I hope to give effect to it at once.

On taking over charge of my present duties, I was struck by the fact that no complete agricultural survey of the province had ever been made, and I requested the Director of Agriculture to take steps to carry out such a survey. This is now being done, but will take some time to complete as we have been unable to find money for any extra staff for the purpose. At the same time a special survey of the cotton tracts is being made.

The constitution of the Board of Agriculture has also received attention. Up to the present it has been an official body, but I have come to the conclusion that a non-official element is necessary and am taking steps to give effect to this.

Another direction in which the Agricultural Department has extended its efforts is assistance to agricultural exhibitions. These have been helped by contributions and by exhibits, but here again the Department has been handicapped by lack of funds as the amount at its disposal for the purpose was only Rs. 6,000 and no less than 14 exhibitions had to be assisted out of this amount.

A further extension of propaganda work has been the experimental appointment of an agricultural officer for this special purpose in the Burdwan division.

His lectures illustrated by magic lantern have roused the greatest interest among the cultivators whom he has visited and his work has been so successful that as soon as funds permit, it must be extended

to other divisions. But after all demonstration is the most effective form of propaganda, and here the department has been handicapped by a shortage of district agricultural officers and demonstrators. If money is placed at my disposal, a portion of it must be utilised in increasing the number of these officers.

In the matter of research much has been done. In addition to the paddy and jute seeds which have already achieved popularity among the cultivators, the Fibre Expert has evolved new varieties of jute seeds suitable for Northern Bengal and for Western Bengal and improved varieties of mustard and *rabi* pulses and deep-water paddy have been introduced. The Agricultural Chemist has been engaged mainly on research into the problems of date-sugar and tobacco. With reference to Colonel Pugh's criticisms, I may explain that the scheme for the distribution of paddy and jute seed has developed during the year, and that its further extension is retarded chiefly because the seeds are not available. I am informed that practically all the money provided for this purpose has been spent, but I cannot say under what head the Accountant-General has shown it. I am making inquiries, and hope to have full information on the point before the detailed discussion on the Budget takes place. As regards new farms, provision for these cannot be made in this Budget as they are new schemes, but they are among the schemes for which I shall ask the Council to vote grants if sufficient money is placed at my disposal.

As regards the future, everything depends upon the allotment of funds for new schemes, but if the taxation Bills are passed by this Council and funds do become available, the Agricultural Department is ready with schemes of the utmost importance to the welfare of the cultivators. I am not relying as has been suggested on foreign theories and method of agricultural improvement but have based my policy on a consideration of the actual needs of the cultivator.

I have already referred to the Agricultural Institute at Dacca and to the scheme for elementary agricultural education. As regards the latter, though each school will be of the cheapest possible type, the number of schools must be large if it is to meet the real needs of the cultivators and the total expenditure will therefore be heavy. In addition to the two existing secondary agricultural schools, a third secondary school for Northern Bengal must be provided.

A scheme for a Dairy Farm at Dacca has been drawn up and a scheme is being drawn up for Murshidabad where it is proposed to start a second farm with a dairy factory attached. I may say that for the Dairy Farm and Factory at Murshidabad I have received a most generous promise of assistance from a nobleman of Bengal. Poultry-breeding is another line which the Department are ready and anxious to take up if funds can be found.

The importance of improving the breed of cattle in Bengal has for long engaged attention and is generally admitted to be a growing need of the

province. If funds become available this matter will be taken up and one of the first steps will be the appointment of an expert in cattle-breeding. I have taken the best advice available in India on this subject and am satisfied that without a properly trained expert little if any progress can be made.

During the past year, Mr. Chowdhury, silk expert with high qualifications, has been appointed as Deputy Director of Sericulture, and, if funds become available, important developments will be undertaken in the near future. In particular I am anxious to see the establishment of a silk-weaving institute at Murshidabad and a secondary silk-weaving school at Malda. An important Conference will shortly be held to consider the future policy of the department and one of the principal items in the agenda will be the attitude of Government towards the rearer. The danger of extending the Government nurseries is that the rearer will gradually be swept out of the market, and it is proposed that, in future, steps should be taken rather to encourage the rearer and to leave the sale of seeds in his hands using the Government nurseries for the purpose of education and demonstration. As a considerable part of the staff of this Department is still on a permanent basis, I wish, if money is available, to reorganise it on a temporary footing.

I turn now to the Co-operative Department. During the year ending on the 30th June last, the number of societies increased by 958 and the membership by 24,910. The total number of societies working on that date was 6,366 and the working capital was Rs. 3 crores and 33 lakhs. Since I assumed charge of the department I have laid considerable stress on the extension of experiments in connection with non-credit co-operation and the application of co-operative methods to cottage industries, irrigation problems, and the marketing of agricultural products. The Naogaon *Ganja* Cultivators' Society is an excellent example of the co-operative sale of members' produce. Another striking example is the Milk Union of Calcutta which holds the contract of the supply of milk to the Calcutta Medical College and other important institutions. The Bankura Industrial Union, which deals with 700 weavers, has shown what success the co-operative movement can render towards the development of cottage industries. The important question of irrigation in Bankura and other districts of Western Bengal is one which can in my opinion be solved to a large extent by means of co-operative societies, and the department in consultation with local officers are engaged in drawing up a comprehensive scheme. This is a matter in which the Agricultural Department and the Co-operative Department must work hand in glove, and little can be achieved till an Agricultural Engineer has been appointed. I regard this appointment as one of the most urgent demands for which money is needed. At the same time the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, must have the assistance of a qualified Inspector of Irrigation Societies.

There are in fact no limits to the possibilities of co-operation, but if we are to develop on right lines a well-organised department, with an adequate staff is necessary. At present our staff is altogether insufficient, and in the lower grades is organised on a purely temporary basis. The first essential is an Assistant Registrar for each division. At present we have only four of these officers. Then we have only 40 auditors to audit the accounts of over 6,000 societies. The maximum number of societies with which each auditor can deal is 100, and therefore to make up the deficiency we have to employ inspectors taking them away from their legitimate duties of development and propaganda. Further, if we are to organise the department on a permanent basis the pay of the various grades of officers must be reconsidered in view of the rise in the cost of living since their present pay was fixed. I am in a position to deal with all these matters at once if money can be placed at my disposal. The money I can assure the Council will be well spent. A Bengal with her rural credit placed on a sound footing by the application of the principles of thrift, self-help and mutual co-operation and served by a network of co-operative organisations for the purchase of agricultural requisites and the sale of agricultural products, with her cottage industries freed from the oppressive tolls levied on them by the middlemen, and with her irrigation problems, solved by co-operative methods will be a different Bengal from what we see to-day. With reference to Colonel Pugh's criticism that we have only provided Rs. 6,580 for grants to co-operative societies, I wish to make it clear that it is not the policy of Government to make such grants to societies. As a rule they are financed by loans from Central Banks, but if Government assistance is necessary it is given in the form of loans and not of grants.

I turn now to Industries Head 35C of the Budget. This is a young department and it has therefore been mainly engaged in the consideration of new schemes. At the same time much has been achieved, especially in the direction of technical education. The Serampore Weaving Institute continues to attract more and more students and to turn out young men who have no difficulty in finding suitable employment. The district and peripatetic weaving schools are also doing excellent work. The scheme for a technical institute in Calcutta had unfortunately to be held in abeyance for want of funds. At Kanchrapara the arrangements for opening a technical institute could not be completed, but classes for the apprentices have been started on a temporary basis.

An industrial survey of the province is one of the first essentials to the efficient administration of the department. I pressed this point at a Conference of the superior officers of my departments which was held in April last and a systematic industrial survey is now being made by the staff of the department. In the direction of propaganda, the department assisted a number of exhibitions by arranging for the display of

improved automatic hand-looms and spinning appliances, the demonstration of modern processes of spinning, weaving and tanning, the distribution of literature and the delivery of lectures on industrial subjects. Important work, both in the direction of research and experiment and in the direction of demonstration and the training of apprentices, has been done by the Research Tannery. In connection with the Tannery I may say that Babu Surendra Nath Mallik is under a misapprehension. The scheme for a research tannery has been matured and the tannery is in full swing. The unspent balance to which Babu Surendra Nath Mallik refers was intended for industrial development and could have been spent without difficulty if the Finance Department had not refused to sanction any expenditure on new schemes. Cottage industries have been assisted by the establishment of yarn banks and sale-depôts on co-operative lines.

As regards the future, the department is now ready with schemes and in a position to launch out on many important projects, if money is placed at my disposal. As regards technical education, we shall in the first place proceed with the Calcutta Technical School. This is a work of great urgency as the demand for the instruction which we propose to give there is very strong. Then we have schemes for the establishment of junior technical and industrial and commercial schools in the districts. I hope to increase the number of district and peripatetic weaving schools. As regards silk-weaving schools, I have already explained that we are anxious to start two of these—a higher grade Institute at Murshidabad and a secondary school at Malda. Another project of great importance is the construction of a suitable building for the Serampore Weaving Institute. At present it is inadequately housed in a hired building and the accommodation is very insufficient. Every year we turn away hundreds of candidates for admission and I regard it as a duty to remedy this state of things as early as possible. Then there is the question of State Technical Scholarships. Formerly, the cost of these was met by the Imperial Government and Bengal was allowed to have four students abroad at any one time. Now the cost of these scholarships must be met by provincial Governments. We have provided in the Budget for the scholars at present abroad, and if funds become available new scholarships must be awarded. Another object for which money is urgently required is the fostering of cottage industries by means of industrial loans and by the introduction of a system of hire-purchase of machinery. Then we have ready also schemes for inquires and experiments in glass-making and match-making, both of which industries, we have reason to believe, can be successfully established in Bengal. Other schemes for which funds are required are a pioneer Cigar and Cigarette Factory for which a scheme has been prepared and is now under consideration, the improvement of the chikan-work and embroidery industries and the improvement of the Dacca conch-shell industry. I think that what I have said, Sir, meets Colonel

Pugh's request for an indication of the policy which I propose to follow in the Department of Industries.

Next, Sir, I turn to the Fisheries budget. The Fisheries Department has been handicapped for the last two years by the absence of a permanent head. At present the department is being managed by the Director of Agriculture. But this is an unsatisfactory arrangement from the point of view of both departments. The Director of Agriculture has neither the time nor the knowledge to control the Department of Fisheries. That department, Sir, has infinite possibilities in a province like Bengal where fish forms so large a part of the diet of the inhabitants, but nothing can be achieved unless the department has an expert with practical experience at its head. I trust that the Fisheries budget will be passed by this Council, and I shall then take steps to secure the services of such an officer.

Next, Sir, in regard to civil works very few remarks appear to be necessary and it is gratifying to find that the proposals of this departments have come in for very little criticism. The fact is, as I explained to the Council, the principal operations of the department are concerned with construction of buildings required by various departments of the Government, and with the repair of the various buildings and communications which are the property of the Government throughout the Presidency. It has been explained in the budget statement that the estimated expenditure for the year 1922-23 shows a very large decrease compared with the revised expenditure for the current year. The only expenditure under original works is for those works already in progress and which will not be completed by the end of the current year. No provision is made for new works. Turning to communication for which this department is primarily responsible, here, again, provision is made only for continuing the construction and improvements of roads in connection with the development of Kalimpong as a hill station, with laying an improved surface on certain of the roads on the Calcutta maidan and improving and extending the system of roads in the Jalpaiguri Dooars. Small provision is also made for a road extension in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. It is also proposed to complete the water-supply scheme for Kalimpong. The supplementary Budget containing works to be carried out by this Department with funds to be provided from a loan will consist principally of the construction of buildings required for the various departments of Government; it is unnecessary for me to deal with those works in detail now as the subject will come to the Council in due course.

Adjournment.

The Council was then adjourned till 3 P.M. on Wednesday, the 1st March, 1922.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act.

THE Council met in the Council Chamber in the Town Hall, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 1st March, 1922, at 3 P.M.

Present:

The Deputy-President in the Chair, the Hon'ble the four Members of the Executive Council, the Hon'ble the three Ministers and 89 nominated and elected members.

Discussion of the Budget.

MINISTER in charge of DEPARTMENT of EDUCATION (the Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter): I propose to take up first, without any preliminary remarks, the specific points on which my administration has been criticised. The first point is about the grant of Rs. 9 lakhs to the Dacca University and no increase of grant to the Calcutta University. The Budget, as the members of this House are aware, is a deficit Budget, and they have heard from His Excellency the Governor, that a certain arrangement was arrived at among the different members of the Government. By virtue of that arrangement, as was stated in His Excellency's speech, the transferred departments agreed to surrender Rs. 6½ lakhs and the reserved departments Rs. 83 lakhs. There was this further understanding that in case the taxation Bills were passed, the surrenders of the transferred departments would be automatically restored. That being so, the present is merely a repetition Budget, that is to say, we have merely put into the Budget whatever funds we had this year on each head. I maintain that a moment's consideration will satisfy this House that in granting Rs. 9 lakhs to the Dacca University I really helped the Calcutta University, and my reason is this; suppose instead of granting Rs. 9 lakhs I granted, say Rs. 7 lakhs, *i.e.*, two lakhs less to the Dacca University even in that case I could not have helped the Calcutta University for it would not have been open to me, under the arrangement, to give one single rupee out of this Rs. 2 lakhs to the Calcutta University. On the other hand, the result would have been that when the time came for putting in additional demands in the supplementary Budget, the Dacca University could justly claim the restoration of this Rs. 2 lakhs, and such a claim would naturally merit prior consideration. Now by repeating and not reducing from next year the grant of the Dacca University which it has this year, I have reduced to that extent the just claims of that University, to

prior treatment in the supplementary Budget, but why should the Calcutta University have any ground for complaint? The Calcutta University also has got the same grant which it has this year. I hope this preliminary explanation will satisfy the House that there is no substance in the point that a lesser grant to the Dacca University would set free any larger sum to the Calcutta University.

Apart from that, let us examine the questions on their merits. I have given Rs. 5 lakhs recurring grant and Rs. 4 lakhs capital grant to the Dacca University, and, as I have already stated, these are precisely the figures we have in the current year's Budget. Now, as to the recurring grant, the Dacca University, as is well known, is a teaching and residential University. It has, among its functions, to deal with not only post-graduate studies and the advancement of learning—common to both the Calcutta and the Dacca University—but it has also to deal with post-intermediate studies. We all know that after the Dacca University was established, the old Dacca College and the old Jagannath College were abolished. The expenditure of the old Dacca College was about Rs. 2 lakhs and 48 thousand and the expenditure of the Jagannath College was about Rs. 70,000, totalling Rs. 3,18,000. The Dacca University has three residential halls, the Dacca Hall, the Muslim Hall and the Jagannath Hall, or in other words, in place of two old colleges we have now three halls. And if the amount spent was about Rs. 3,20,000 in the past for two colleges, is it very unreasonable that the expenditure on a residential teaching university consisting of three colleges, rather three halls, with post-intermediate and post-graduate studies should be something like Rs. 5 lakhs? This sum would include over Rs. 1 lakh for administrative expenses as well as expenses for post-graduate studies. I put it to the House—Is not this extra sum all too small? I may also remind the House that according to the sanctioned schemes, sanctioned years ago by the Secretary of State, the recurring expenditure of the Dacca University was originally fixed at something like Rs. 13 or 14 lakhs. It was subsequently reduced to about Rs. 7½ lakhs, and last year it was reduced still further to Rs. 5 lakhs. I maintain that Rs. 5 lakhs is the minimum, the bed-rock, if you want to have a university, below which you cannot go.

If I may for a moment compare the expenses of the post-graduate studies of the Calcutta University with those of the Dacca University, I think the House will be still more convinced that Rs. 5 lakhs, including post-intermediate and post-graduate studies and administrative charges, is by no means an extravagant sum. The Calcutta University, according to the actuals of 1920-21, could afford to spend, including the income from the Trust Funds Rs. 7,49,433, or roughly speaking Rs. 7½ lakhs and excluding the income from the Trust Funds roughly about Rs. 6¼ lakhs for post-graduate studies only. I freely admit that the activities of the Calcutta University in post-graduate

studies must necessarily be very much larger than those of the newly-established University of Dacca. Included in the administrative expenses of the Dacca University, you have the high figure of the salary of the Vice Chancellor, for which neither the Government nor the Minister was in any way responsible. Excluding the administrative charges, the expenditure of the Dacca University on post-graduate studies is really very modest. Therefore, Sir, I maintain that on the merits of the case, this recurring grant of Rs. 5 lakhs to the Dacca University is justified. We must remember that the Dacca University is a newly-established residential university, and, therefore, there are expenses which it must incur and which perhaps an old established university need not incur.

Now as regards the capital grant of Rs 4 lakhs, there is one very important point to remember. The Dacca University has about Rs. 60 lakhs earmarked money in our till. The whole province under the present Devolution rules, over which neither the Government nor the Minister has any control, is enjoying the benefit of this Rs. 60 lakhs. Regard being had to the Devolution rules again we do not and indeed cannot admit the legal right of the Dacca University to this sum; but surely it is not possible for us to dispute the moral right of the Dacca University to this money. Therefore, the Rs. 9 lakhs budgeted for the Dacca University is really a partial redemption of that claim. A new university must find money to equip its laboratories, its libraries and various other things, and a grant of Rs. 4 lakhs is certainly not too much for the purpose. The Calcutta University in the past also had grants from the Government of India. I believe I am not wrong in saying that the present Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in one of his speeches freely acknowledged the liberality of such grants. The Dacca University unfortunately was not started as it should have been, but there is the money with us and we have only paid a part of this money. The Council by its vote last year made it clear that in its opinion the Dacca University should be established. Now that it has been established, it ought to be allowed to run. Therefore, Sir, I submit that on its own merits both the recurring grant of Rs. 5 lakhs and the capital grant of Rs. 4 lakhs are amply justified.

Now, Sir, I shall enter into a matter to which I would rather not have entered. But the case of the Calcutta University has been presented by some of its so-called friends in such a way that I have no other alternative. I have no complaint to make against members of this Council asking for information, for I admit that lookng at the Budget figures the grant of Rs. 9 lakhs to the Dacca University as compared with Rs. 1,41,000 to the Calcutta University might strike is superficial observer as rather invidious. My friends Dr. Moitra and Mr. S. M. Bose drew attention to this apparent differential treatment and I can well understand their object. I hope I have been able to satisfy them. But I was much surprised at the attitude of Professor

S. C. Mukherji who had all the facts from me, but who neither had the fairness to acknowledge this nor made any attempt to meet the facts, when he made his attack on me. He had asked for information and I gave him all that he wanted. Apparently the impression left on my mind was that he was perfectly satisfied, but I must have been wrong—at any rate his speech shows that I was wrong. Sir, I had a right to expect that he would try to justify the points of his criticism by reference to the facts I had placed before him, but he has done nothing of the kind. And what is the nature of his speech? He has made the charge that the attitude of the Minister to the Calcutta University is unsympathetic. He has quoted from my speech last year, and tried to twist it. I am really sorry that Professor S. C. Mukherji should have spoken in the strain he did. I quite understand the criticism of Dr. J. N. Moitra, who is a member of the Senate, I can also understand my friend Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur, whom I must recognise as the only representative of the Calcutta University in this House, I can also understand Mr. S. M. Bose who is connected with the Calcutta University. I have no doubt that Professor S. C. Mukherji feels a good deal for his *alma mater*, but as for his right to speak on behalf of the Calcutta University he has certainly much less authority than any of these gentlemen whom I have named. His speech leaves me no other alternative but to place certain facts before the House, which, as I have already said, I would rather not have done. In this Budget there is a provision for about Rs. 1 crore 14 lakhs on the transferred side of education. Excluding from this the grant to the Dacca University, the Dacca Intermediate Board and a few other educational institutions within the five miles radius of Dacca, we find that over a crore of rupees is spent by Government for the educational activities of this province. And, Sir, I must say, in passing, that a good deal more in fees and in public contributions are also spent in this connection. I believe I am not far out, speaking from memory, that altogether about 3 crores of rupees are spent on education in this province, including fees and contributions from the people and the local bodies. Now, it will not do to overlook the fact that almost the whole of this amount goes to help the Calcutta University, though indirectly, in the discharge of its functions.

Coming to more specific matters, we have budgeted for over Rs. 20 lakhs for University education, excluding the Dacca University and a sum of nearly Rs. 18 lakhs for secondary education. All these institutions which benefit by the grant go to feed the Calcutta University in realising its fees amounting to Rs. 10 to Rs. 11 lakhs. I put it to the House, where would the Calcutta University be, but for these generous grant of the Government? I may say, and I repeat it owing to the unjust insinuations of Professor S. C. Mukherji, that my attitude towards the Calcutta University is one of utmost sympathy, and I have the high authority of the present Vice-Chancellor in my support as I find from the

report of a recent Senate meeting that he also acknowledges it. I may say, in passing, that there may be enthusiasts on both sides, who may say otherwise. For instance, I find that at that University meeting Mr. Charu Chandra Biswas and Mr. Rama Prosad Mukherji spoke in a strain which might help to create a friction between the Ministry of Education and the authorities of the Calcutta University. Professor Mukherji has now added his humble mite to it.

Professor S. C. MUKHERJI: Was it in the University proceedings that I did so?

Babu SURENDRA NATH MALLIK: You should not disturb the Hon'ble Minister.

The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. MITTER: But now, Sir, Professor S. C. Mukherji has said that the Calcutta University is in a bad plight, that it has a deficit of Rs. 5½ lakhs. I believe he said that it was due to the non-co-operation movement. But is Professor Mukherji sure that the loss is due to the effects of non-co-operation? Has he cared to inquire to what extent the loss may not also be due to the thoughtless expansion of the University in the past? I have no doubt that the University expanded with the best of motives, but I would ask the Council seriously to consider how far its present losses have not resulted from such expansion. I repeat, I do not for a moment question the motives which have actuated the authorities of the Calcutta University present or past, but I do assert with all the emphasis that I command, that the financial management of the Calcutta University in the past was deplorable. Perhaps from an academic body one should not always expect a good financial management, but since I have been challenged by Professor Mukherji, the great friend of the Calcutta University—may I add, the self-constituted friend of the Calcutta University—I must go into the matter. Now, Sir, I have before me the budgets of the Calcutta University for the last few years, and I find that in the year 1918-19, the opening balance of the fee fund was Rs. 2 lakhs and odd, and in 1919-20, it was Rs. 1,88,743, but in the year 1920-21, the opening balance was a debit balance of Rs. 2,49,108 out of which no doubt Rs. 2,19,000 was an investment, leaving a net debit balance of Rs. 29,171. In other words, in the year ending June, 1920, the Calcutta University, spent Rs. 1,88,743 of the previous year's balance *plus* Rs. 29,171, totalling Rs. 2,37,000 over and above the huge fee receipts of Rs. 11 lakhs or so; that is to say an aggregate of Rs. 13,37,914. I put it to the House and to Professor Mukherji, where was the non-co-operation movement in that year? I have no doubt, as I have said, that the authorities of the Calcutta University at that time were actuated by their laudable enthusiasm to develop post-graduate studies. But surely they should have looked ahead, surely they should have realised that the sound financial way of dealing with a

matter like this was not to act on mere hopes of getting doles from the Government of India. They should not have spent the provisions which were accumulated during so many years in one single year, and thus brought the premier University of India to the verge of bankruptcy. It was almost criminal thoughtlessness to have ignored the financial aspect of the question in their enthusiasm for expansion. But if the Calcutta University has blundered in the past, that is no reason why I, as Minister for Education for Bengal or why the members of this House who are no doubt actuated by the best and highest motives in criticising the financial administration of the Calcutta University, should not forgive and forget the past, and why we should not all try to improve the Calcutta University and place the institution once more on the same high pedestal, which it occupied in the past And I may tell this House that that has been my attitude all along, and that will be my attitude in the future. I have not the slightest doubt that even the severest critics of the Calcutta University will support me in that attitude. But, Sir, in order that that consummation may be reached there must be more of toleration, and of mutual understanding; and I should like in this connection to say one word about what I consider to be the respective functions of this House and the Calcutta University.

I consider that it will be an unwarrantable assumption of authority on the part of this House to try to interfere with purely academic matters relating to the administration of the Calcutta University, and my attitude is clearly illustrated in an answer to a starred question, where one Hon'ble Member put certain questions relating to the last M.A. examination, about additional marks being given to certain successful candidates as a matter of grace and so on. The Calcutta University sent a reply and I might have merely communicated the reply to the House, but I added that the Government fully approved of the attitude of the University in this matter As regards purely academic matters, this House has no say and ought not to have any say, but as regards matters which touch the public intimately like financial administration I submit with the utmost confidence that this House has a right, and it would be failing in its duty, if it did not assert that right. Financial matters are matters which are specially in charge of this House and, therefore, there must not be any irritation shown by the Calcutta University when this House desires to inquire into them. In this connection, I would like to mention that on the 31st August last, this House passed a resolution in spite of my opposition, demanding that a committee of inquiry be appointed. One reason why I opposed it was that at that time I had not the views of the Calcutta University before me. I do not blame the House for it. We had asked for the information and we did not get it in time; I have not got that information even to-day. I thought that the matter was of such importance that it was right to give the Calcutta University more time, so I opposed the resolution. There were other considerations also which led me to do so. I have written

to the Calcutta University about this matter, and finally fixed a time-limit, up to the 7th March next, for getting a reply to that resolution. I do hope that the Calcutta University authorities will inform the Government what they have got to say on this. The House will remember that I did not promise to accept the resolution; all that I said was that I would probe into the matter fully, but before doing so I must know what the Calcutta University has got to say. If the University's reply is not satisfactory then we must come to the conclusion that a committee of inquiry should be constituted.

If, on the other hand, their reply be satisfactory, then it may not be necessary to appoint a committee. If the University takes up an attitude of antagonism to this House in financial matters, in matters in which the public are interested, it will only make my position difficult as regards my anxiety to help the University and to help the cause of higher education in the province. I have no doubt it will also make the position of many members of this House difficult. Therefore, I repeat the appeal which I made then that both this House and the University should let by-gones be by-gones, and work hand in hand in co-operation with each other for the common good of the province. I hope that my appeal will not fall on deaf ears.

I also desire to add that in the supplementary Budget I have provided for what I consider to be a generous grant to the Calcutta University, but its ultimate result will depend upon some factors. First of all, upon the attitude this Council takes up in the taxation proposals I will not deal with that at the present stage, but later on. It will also depend upon what surplus we have, and how Government will think it right to adjust it, at any rate between the transferred departments and, lastly, and the most important of all, it will depend upon my ability to pass that grant in the House. Therefore, from higher and patriotic self-interest at all events the Calcutta University ought to give up its present policy of needlessly irritating the Council on matters financial. I have no doubt that the present Vice-Chancellor, who is one of the ablest men that we have not only in this province, but in the whole of India, will see the wisdom of my advice, and if he makes up his mind, I am sure, things will be easy in the Calcutta University. That is all I have got to say about the respective grants to the Calcutta and Dacca Universities.

Another specific complaint that was made was about the Science College attached to the Calcutta University. I may at once tell the House that my attitude towards the College of Science is that of utmost sympathy. I freely admit that in the past the Government of India had given only Rs. 12,000 a year, and last year I could not increase that grant only because I had no hand in the framing of the Budget; but if the attitude of the Government of India or my position in the past has not been as satisfactory as might have been expected, what has been the attitude of the Calcutta University itself towards the Science College?

Looking at the Budget of the Calcutta University, I find some very interesting figures. In 1920-21, I am quoting from the actuals, the Calcutta University spent on the Arts side of post-graduate studies Rs. 4,65,000 and odd; on the Science side under post-graduate, it spent only Rs. 1,06,000 and odd, and over and above this on the Science College it spent Rs. 1,77,000 and odd. Out of this sum for the Science College it must be remembered Rs. 1,30,000 came from the Palit and Ghosh Trusts. The position thus was that on the Arts side, the University spent out of its own funds Rs. 4,65,000 and on the Science side only about Rs. 1,40,000. In the previous year, on the Arts side it spent Rs. 3,97,000 and on the Science side, including Science College, it spent about Rs. 97,000, excluding the income from the Trust Funds In 1918-19, on the Arts side it spent Rs 3,73,000 and on the Science side about Rs. 12,000 including Science College. In 1917-18 it spent Rs. 2,34,000 on the Arts side and Rs 40,000 on post-graduate studies on the Science side and Rs. 2 lakhs 39,000 and odd on the Science College. In 1916-17, on the Arts side it spent Rs. 1,37,000, but nothing on the Science side. I am giving these figures in no spirit of complaint. I am pointing out these facts with the hope that they will induce the Calcutta University to revise their way of dealing with the Science side.

There is another point Supposing that the taxation Bills are passed in the way that I would like them to be passed, then no doubt I can give additional money to the Calcutta University, but if not, I can only repeat the grant of Rs. 1,41,000 to them. One item of that is a grant of Rs. 30,000 to the Law College. That college is not only a self-supporting institution, but is a paying concern. I find in the audit report of the year ending June, 1920, that there was a closing balance of Rs. 68,623 in the Law College, and without tiring the House I may mention that in other years also this balance has been a substantial one. May I point out to the House, in passing, that in the year ending June, 1920, the Calcutta University had in its closing balance Rs. 1,83,000 of Government money?

Kumar SHIB SHEKHARESWAR RAY: May I rise to a point of order? Are we discussing the budget of the Calcutta University?

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT (Babu Surendra Nath Ray): Inasmuch as it has been said that the Calcutta University has not been properly treated in the Budget of the Bengal Government, the Hon'ble Minister is entitled to give his reply.

The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. MITTER: In the Minto Professorship we find a closing balance of Rs. 6,944; in the University Readership we find Rs. 10,000 and odd; in the post-graduate teaching Rs. 23,000 and odd; in the George V Professorship Rs. 13,000. But I will not tire the patience of the House by going into further details. My position is this,

Even if the Government be not in a position to help the University substantially, even then the latter should be more generous to the College of Science. In any case I shall, when the proper time comes, consider the propriety of diverting the grant of Rs. 30,000 from the Law College to the Science College and of making a capital sum provision for the latter college out of the accumulated Government grants in the hands of the Calcutta University.

I now take up the next specific point about criticisms regarding primary education. These criticisms divide themselves into two heads. One dealing with general questions of policy or what has been described as want of policy or want of schemes and the other to certain specific complaints. I shall also deal with the criticism that we did not spend the whole of the available money that we had in our Budget. The last argument is based on certain passages at pages 44 and 45 of the Budget. At page 44, it is stated that the decrease of Rs. 78,000 in the revised estimate is partly due to the cause explained above and partly to the non-utilization in full of the provision for grants to non-Government Arts Colleges amounting to Rs. 1,29,000. At page 45, it is stated that the decrease in the revised estimate as compared with the sanctioned estimate is due to the non-payment of smaller grants to local bodies for primary education. Now this criticism is based on a misapprehension of the somewhat difficult system of keeping accounts. I can well understand that new members like Colonel Pugh and others will make this criticism, but I must confess I do not understand why members like Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray and others who were members of the old Council and familiar with budget procedure should repeat this argument. The position is this. The revised estimate is merely a paper estimate made by the Accountant-General on the actuals of the first half of the year. It is perfectly well known, at any rate to those who have dealt with the budgets for years past both in this Council and the old, that the Education Department along with certain other departments spend a good deal of their grants during the last month or so, and for reasons that are pretty obvious. The Education Department has got to deal with local bodies, governing bodies of institutions and it often pays after the work has been completed, so that it is about the end of the year that many payments are often made. I may tell the House that orders have been very recently passed for the payment of the whole of Rs. 1,29,000 within the year and also for certain other sums, *viz.*, Rs. 1,20,000 to district boards for buildings and equipment of primary schools, Rs. 75,000 to district boards for pay of teachers in primary schools and so on. Our department is of opinion that the statement that the grant for primary education is smaller in 1921-22 will not be justified when accounts are made up next year. I think when bills are paid and accounts are made up it will appear that we have spent all that we could spend or were allowed to spend within

the agreement arrived at between the different members of the Government.

Babus Nirode Behary Mullick and Bhishmadev Das have referred to grants of scholarships and free studentships to members of the backward classes and for the improvement of education amongst them. I may tell the House that I have the utmost sympathy with their demands and subject to financial limitations I shall try to help them. In the earlier part of last year before the embargo on expenditure was put I increased the grant to the Society for the improvement of education among the Backward Classes. I may also tell the House that in the supplementary Budget that my department has placed before the Finance Department there are provisions for the grant of the scholarships and free studentships as well as other provisions for the improvement of education amongst the backward classes. It is too early to say what the result of the taxation proposals or of Government deliberations will be

My friend Mr. S. M. Bose has referred to the question of women's education. Here again I may tell the House that I have included in the supplementary Budget a larger provision for that purpose, but I am somewhat astounded to find that while Mr. S M. Bose and others are pleading for expansion of girls' education my esteemed friend Rai Dr. Haridhan Dutt Bahadur suggests that we should dismiss teachers for girls' education, etc. I hope he will be in the minority of one when the question comes to vote.

Babu SURENDRA NATH MALLIK: I think Dr. Haridhan Dutt meant visitation by female teachers. That is what he objected to.

The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. MITTER: But visitation of female teachers is really meant for the furtherance of female education.

There is another specific point which has been mentioned by Rai Dr. Haridhan Dutt Bahadur about primary education within the Calcutta Corporation. Babu Surendra Nath Mallik has to some extent put him right, but it is just as well that I should tell the House that last year before the Budget time, I handed over Rs. 3 lakhs to the Calcutta Corporation and they, according to the arrangements arrived, found Rs. 5 lakhs. Although I know that some members of the Calcutta Corporation are keen on the subject, yet during the whole of this year nothing has been done and no practical scheme has been evolved. Rai Dr. Haridhan Dutt Bahadur said there was something in the Government notification which added to the confusion. Last year when I handed over Rs. 3 lakhs to the Corporation it was certainly open to anybody really interested in primary education to take up the matter. And even if there be some mistake in the drafting of the notification, which I do not admit because the matter has not been brought to my notice formally, that did not prevent anybody who was anxious for primary education from drawing up practical schemes. I do not want

to dilate on the point as Babu Surendra Nath Mallik has already dealt with it.

Rai Dr. HARIDHAN DUTT Bahadur: May I rise for a personal explanation?

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: You may speak after the Hon'ble Minister, not now, by way of personal explanation.

The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. MITTER: Rai Dr. Haridhan Dutt Bahadur has made another suggestion of a somewhat astounding nature. He suggests that the work of the Board of Intermediate Education at Dacca may be handed over to the Dacca University. If before making that suggestion he had taken the trouble to refer to the Dacca University Act he would have found that within the 5-mile radius neither the Dacca University nor any other University can have anything to do with intermediate or secondary education. Whether you like the Dacca University or not, the Act is there which I, with your help and co-operation, have got to administer. We cannot hand over the intermediate board of studies to the Dacca University much as I or anybody else may wish.

A criticism has been made about the percentage between reserved and transferred subjects. I have not much faith in percentages, but may I remind the House of a certain other figure? His Excellency the Governor has pointed out that the cut from the transferred departments was Rs. 6½ lakhs whereas the cut from the reserved departments was Rs. 83 lakhs. This Rs. 6½ lakhs would be automatically restored as soon as the taxation Bills are passed. As regards the reserved departments they will have to satisfy the Government first and then this House. I do not want to question the calculations regarding percentages; some say it is 30 and 70 and others 34 and 66. Without questioning these calculations, I do say that in this year of great financial stringency we have not come badly off. I also acknowledge what has been acknowledged by His Excellency that our colleagues on the reserved side also treated us fairly in the matter of the cut.

My attention has been drawn by Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur to certain Council resolutions about the establishments of a Board of Secondary Education, a committee of inquiry into the Calcutta University and certain other matters. The question of the committee of inquiry I have already dealt with, but about the Board of Secondary Education, I may tell the Rai Bahadur that we have written to the Calcutta University. They have appointed a committee. We are trying to push the matter but I think everybody will agree with me that we should not take away certain functions from the Calcutta University without at any rate giving them an opportunity of being heard. If they take a long time over the matter then I may have to tell them that we must, with regrets, do without their long-delayed opinion, but it is no good taking up this matter before the Budget discussion are over because we do not know where we stand financially.

Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy has referred to the grant to the Boy Scouts Movement. Perhaps it will surprise my friend to know that there is a grant in the current year's Budget which has again been repeated in the next year's Budget as an existing grant.

These are all the specific points which have been raised regarding the Education Department.

There is another specific point to which I have to refer, *e.g.*, the reorganisation of the subordinate educational service. I have recently answered a question on this point. The draft of the answer was prepared a few days ago but since then the matter has passed through the Finance Department and we hope to issue orders in the course of next week. I am glad to tell the Council that the reorganisation of the subordinate educational service is now an accomplished fact.

In this connection a criticism was made by Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray or Babu Indu Bhushan Dutt to the effect that the actual sum in the next year's Budget is much less than demands for grants in the current year's Budget. That is so and the reason is this. The subordinate educational service consists of over 2,000 officers divided into various classes and the demand we made was based on the report of a committee known as the Wordsworth Committee, but when we worked out details (before we issued orders it was necessary to work out details with reference to each officer), we found that at the next year only the sum budgeted for will be necessary. As the House is aware the reorganisation is going to provide salaries on a time-scale and what was aimed at by the Wordsworth Committee was to arrive at the average salary that would be necessary and not the actual salary for the next year. I hope this will satisfy my friends as to the reason why this grant is apparently less, but as years roll on, the total will be more and more, as the average salary is higher than the actual salary for the next year.

Before I deal with certain bigger questions about the want of schemes and so on, I would, with the permission of the House, finish two small points regarding the Registration Department with which I have to deal. One is regarding the reorganization of the services, and the other is a criticism by Rai Mahendra Chandra Mitra Bahadur to the effect that there is a provision for Rs. 28,000 as travelling allowance in the next year's Budget as against Rs. 19,000 in this year's Budget and, further, it was a puzzle to the Rai Bahadur why district sub-registrars should go on tour and inspect. Perhaps he was not aware that many district sub-registrars have to inspect subordinate offices, and therefore there must be travelling allowances for them. As regards this item of Rs. 28,000, it was found from actual experience that the travelling allowance provision for these subordinate officers this year was not enough. There is no question here of any big travelling allowance bills of any highly-paid officers; we have gone into the figures carefully and the Finance Department have cut them down too.

Then there remains the important question about the revision of salaries of sub-registrars. I can assure the House that I am as keen as anyone here in revising the salaries of these sub-registrars, but the position is this: early this financial year my department took up the question of the reorganization of the sub-registrars' service. Our schemes were ready; they were sent to the Finance Department for examination; then came the embargo stopping all extra expenditure, and I am sure the House will not blame anybody, although the delay is very unfortunate. The finances of the province were the deficit to the extent of about Rs. 150 lakhs. We could not naturally incur further expenditure however necessary; the matter necessarily remained in abeyance. We recently took up the matter as soon as the taxation Bills were referred to Select Committee and so far as my department is concerned everything is ready, but my friend the Hon'ble Finance Member is very busy, and even if we try our best in the two departments, I do not think that it is possible to pass orders before the next official year; so far as my department is concerned I can assure the House that no time will be lost; I also trust that if money be available, the Finance Department will expedite the matter.

There now remains the criticism of Colonel Pugh and Mr. Ajoy Chunder Dutt about want of schemes. I submit, Sir, much of this criticism is due to misapprehensions and much of it is also due to the persistent lies repeated in the public press. Primary Education is one of the most important activities of my department, and I know the interest the members of this House take in this great and important question. In the early part of this year, Mr. Biss submitted a comprehensive report on Primary Education. In that report, the calculations which Colonel Pugh and others are so eager to get are set out. At page 59 of that report the House will find—a copy of the report was circulated to every member of this House—that the capital expenditure according to one scheme was Rs. 3 crores and odd, and the recurring expenditure Rs. 199 lakhs. According to another scheme the capital expenditure is Rs. 152 lakhs and recurring expenditure Rs. 109 lakhs. Therefore I do not think my friend Colonel Pugh is right in saying that estimates and schemes have not been prepared. He refers to the example of one of my Hon'ble Colleagues in the reserved departments who have asked for an allotment in the Budget for drawing up schemes. In my department not only is there a provision for expenses necessary for preparing a scheme but the schemes have already been drawn up and have been before the public for months past. Soon after the publication of Mr. Biss's report, I published a resolution on the report in the Government Gazette. Perhaps some members of this House do not care much to read these resolutions. Not being content with these steps I asked for opinions from all representative men and local bodies, and I distributed an English version very freely and caused a Bengali translation to be made; that version also I distributed very widely amongst union boards and various other bodies and men in rural

areas. I am glad to say that some members like my friend Raja Reshee Case Law and others have favoured me with their views, views which are very helpful, but I am sorry to note that my friends who are always keen about raising acrimonious discussions and debates in this House, have not favoured me with their views at all. If they did that, instead of making angry speeches in this Council, progress would be better. Not only has this estimate for the province as a whole been made, but in Appendix L (*a*) detailed estimates for 35 municipalities are set out, but this is not all. Mr. Biss, who has been indefatigable in this matter, has, since the publication of this report, drawn up schemes for every one of the 116 municipalities in Bengal. These schemes were worked out in consultation with the local authorities on the spot. With two or three exceptions these schemes have already been sent to them for consideration and in the majority of cases have even been verbally explained to the Commissioners and members of the public who have cared to attend meetings summoned for the purpose.

With regard to the rural areas, in the same way but at a lower standard of cost, detailed schemes have been worked out on the spot for 206 unions and sent to the local authorities for consideration. In one district—the district of Hooghly—detailed estimates have been worked out with regard to every union so as to give an idea as to what would be the effect of a full application of the scheme over a wide area. In the other districts, we have worked out details with regard to one or two or three unions in each district, so that each district may be in a position to make an experiment, and the work is still going on. My great difficulty is not want of funds—I had enough this year—but want of support from local bodies. The local bodies are not coming forward; I challenged them in my last budget speech and said I would be willing to divide the expenses on a half and half basis, but very few of the municipalities, I am sorry to say, have come forward. At the earlier part of the year, when we were financially better off, I offered to a particular municipality that I would bear every rupee of the capital expenditure and half of the recurring expenditure, but even then that municipality did not come forward. We hope that all the members of this House will exert their great influence with the local bodies and induce them to come forward.

Another criticism has been made by Colonel Pugh, and that is that the Calcutta University Commission's report was published 5 years ago, but nothing has been done. Perhaps Colonel Pugh and others who have criticised do not know that this question was put to me more than once, and my answer was that this would involve an expenditure of something like Rs. 80 lakhs in recurring expenditure. The estimate of the Commissioners was about Rs. 65 lakhs capital expenditure and about Rs. 61 lakhs recurring expenditure, but under present conditions the proper estimate would be about Rs. 80 lakhs recurring and over Rs. 100 lakhs in capital. So I have come to the conclusion that it was not possible to find the money in the near future, therefore,

I had to abandon the idea of carrying out these recommendations. I promised to consider the suggestion of some of my friends, including Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur, of starting a secondary board; so my policy is laid down there. I think I have sufficiently trespassed on the time of the House, but my excuse is that I have been unjustly criticised by many of the speakers, and—

Rai JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE Bahadur: What about the resolution regarding the constitution of the University?

The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. MITTER: That resolution stands in the same way; with regard to that we have written to the University, but after the Budget discussion is over, the matter will be taken up again.

One word more and I am done. I said I have made various demands in the Schedule. I think these demands in the Schedule will be worse than illusory if the Council do not agree to pass these taxation Bills on a permanent basis, and the reason is obvious. In the present Budget you have, I believe, capital expenditure to the extent of Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 lakhs; if you put this demand on a loan basis, you will find that a recurring expenditure of about Rs. 4 lakhs will be enough if the period of the loan be for 25 or 30 years. If you do not follow this loan policy it will be necessary to keep a balance of Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 lakhs as a working balance; if you pass these taxation Bills on a permanent basis, you need not have a large working balance like Rs. 50 to Rs 60 lakhs and as Mr. Kerr has explained, you will have a surplus of Rs. 60 lakhs for expansion; this year has been a very bad year for both Stamps and Land Revenue; it may be that next year will be equally bad, but there is some chance of improvement, so that you may have more than Rs. 60 lakhs to distribute next year. What is the apprehension of my friends here? Their apprehension is that at the end of three years the Government of India will again reimpose its demand for Rs. 63 lakhs; that apprehension has been set at rest during the last few days. The hon'ble members may have noticed that this week, the Finance Secretary to the Government of India has said that greater relief would be given to Madras, the Punjab and the United Provinces and that all the contributions will be taken off at as early a date as possible.

I apprehend I have trespassed on the time of the House too long, and I conclude with an appeal to this House that if they want the Reforms to succeed, they should pass the taxation Bills on a permanent basis.

MINISTER in charge of DEPARTMENT of LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea): I do not propose to detain the House at any great length for the reason that the criticisms which have been addressed in regard to the working of the department with which I am connected, have not been of that comprehensive order with which my friend (the Hon'ble Mr. Mitter) has just had to

deal. The resounding note of the debate has been one of dissatisfaction; it was bound to be so, having regard to the character of the Budget. But there was one note of dissatisfaction, raised by some of the members present which I very much regret. We had a bad Budget last year; we have an unsatisfactory Budget this year; and they have come to the conclusion that the Reforms are illusory, that they mean nothing, that they are doomed to failure. Well, Sir, I cannot share this view at all. I am sorry to find that this view should prevail even amongst a limited section of this House. The Reforms have been in operation only for a year, and it seems to me that it is premature to form any opinion as to their success or otherwise. A year is a very limited space of time in the life of a great experiment; very limited too in the life of a great community. We all know the beginnings of the British Parliament and from what a small thing it rose to be the mother of Parliaments and furnished the model of Parliamentary institutions to civilised mankind. I appeal to my friends to have faith and patience, the ancient characteristics of our people, and the darkness which surrounds the atmosphere is bound to disappear.

I welcome the criticisms which have been made in respect of my department, for they serve to clear up misunderstandings and reveal the strength of my position, which indeed is a strong one. I desire to refer to some of the criticisms which have been made, not in their chronological, but what appears to me in their logical order.

My friend Babu Fanindralal De has observed that the Budget makes provision more for establishment than for work He seems to have overlooked the fact that it is only half a Budget, and that real work is to be provided for in a supplementary Budget after the Taxation Bills have been passed, and we are in a position to embark on a policy of loans which will have to be laid before this Council

My friend Dr Moitra has brought somewhat of an indictment against me personally. He complains of a reduction in the Health Budget from Rs. 19 lakhs to Rs. 16 lakhs, and he says that this is due to lack of energy on the part of the Minister. Well, Sir, throughout my long public life I have been subjected to all sorts of criticisms, but they have not upset my digestion nor disturbed my slumbers. I have trudged along very complacently in the midst of an atmosphere crowded with these reflections, but the very last thing which has been said against me is that I have been lacking in energy! My energy may sometimes have been of the misguided order, as my critics have sometimes said, but not one of them has ever ventured to charge me with any want of that quality. But we live to learn, and I find that at my time of life a new indictment has been brought against me, but it so happens that it is absolutely unfounded. The reductions that he complains of are due to no lack of energy on my part; and to at least one of them, my friend himself has been a party. Dr. Moitra will remember that at a meeting of the Standing Committee at which he was present, he strongly objected to

spending a large sum of money on the anti-hookworm schemes and that we reduced the grant by Rs. 75,000. In the Rs. 3 lakhs reduction, this sum is included; therefore I claim that, if I am guilty of want of energy, want of initiative, my friend has at least been an abettor in that matter.

Let me pass on to other items in connection with this indictment. We have a sum of Rs. 80,000 included in the three lakhs. This sum was a transfer from the Health Department to the Irrigation Department for work which, being initiated by the Health Department, had to be carried on by the Irrigation Department. Therefore, it was a transfer from one pocket to another, a book transaction altogether, and does not represent any reduction at all. Thus, we have Rs. 70,000 *plus* Rs. 80,000, which amounts to Rs. 1,50,000, reduced through no want of energy on my part; but more is in store. Then we have a sum of Rs. 50,000. The Amta drainage and sanitary works are in progress. Government has given a loan, and has also made a grant of Rs. 50,000, but they have not been able to spend this money. There again, there is no question of want of energy on my part. If there was lack of energy, it was on the part of those carrying on the work at Amta. Thus, we have got a total of Rs. 2,19,000 to be deducted from the Rs. 3 lakhs due to conditions which I have just described.

But let us proceed, because I am anxious to make it quite clear that when allegations of this kind, statements of this description are made in Council by responsible members, it is their plain duty to acquaint themselves with the facts before they make these allegations, and Dr. Moitra could have easily done so. A few minutes' conversation with regard to these matters would have given him this information and saved my time and the time of the Council. I am anxious to prove to the hilt that these allegations are futile and unfounded.

Then we have certain other items besides this sum of Rs. 2,19,000. There is an unspent balance, and this is due to certain factors to which I desire to call your attention, *viz.*, the reduction in establishment and contingencies. I am sure Dr. Moitra himself does not think that a reduction in establishment is harmful. Secondly, the industrial hygiene department was not in proper working order: there has been a saving here. Then there was the Public Health Laboratory at Burdwan which had not been opened and here was a saving; then the revision of pay of the subordinate sanitary staff was deferred Well, owing to these causes there was a reduction of Rs. 3 lakhs, and it was certainly not due to any lack of enery on the part of the Minister or of the department over which he presides.

It was stated, I think, by Babu Tarit Bhusan Ray—I do not remember exactly, at any rate by some member—that we were sleeping in our offices while people were dying from cholera, and that we were idle in the matter of prosecuting an anti-malarial campaign. Having regard to the active interest which my department and myself have taken in this

connection, I view with a feeling which I do not care to describe, I view with an exceedingly unhappy feeling, an allegation of this kind. Let me address myself to the facts. I took charge of my office on the 3rd January, 1921, and on the 5th March, I addressed myself to these questions. I took up the problem of anti-malarial operations. Early in the year in this very Hall, I convened a conference of newspaper editors, European and Indian, to discuss the health problem of Bengal, in which the problem of malaria was of course included: we had a most interesting discussion in this Hall: the object of the discussion being to create a feeling in the country in favour of those anti-malarial operations which we desired to undertake. It was indeed the starting-point of the propaganda work upon which the success of anti-malarial operations largely depends. People must be educated in the principles of public health and what better agency could you find than the newspaper Press? I appealed to the newspaper editors, in order that they might help me and co-operate with me in this anti-malarial campaign which we were anxious to initiate. I think I succeeded in my object. There was a good deal of healthy discussion in the newspapers: even the extremist non-co-operating papers joined in this discussion. Almost immediately after, I circularised the district boards inviting them to call conferences of the leading men of the district in order to formulate anti-malarial and water-supply schemes for their districts, and I promised to attend these conferences, if invited. I attended nine of these conferences in the districts of Bengal; I attended conferences held at Dacca, Barisal, Khulna, Jessore, Hooghly, Howrah, Krishnagar, Faridpur and last, but not least, Dinajpur. There were only two conferences which I could not attend owing to the fact that the time was not suitable. A great deal of interest was awakened in problems of health in these district conferences at which leading men were present, and at the present moment, my department is considering schemes of anti-malarial operations and water-supply, which have been placed before us by some of these conferences. Do you think, Sir, that that looks like sleeping over our work, going from place to place, from district to district, and if I may sound a personal note, catching malarial fever myself at one of these places? That does not, I repeat, look like sleeping over the work with which I have been entrusted. Therefore, I protest against an allegation of this kind that we have been doing nothing and that we have been idle and inactive.

Indeed I may say without hesitation and with all the emphasis that I can command, that my soul is centred upon one problem and one problem alone—the eradication of malaria, from this great province, the province of my birth and of my hopes and aspirations. Well, from the very outset, I thought that it was a matter of the first importance that we should have a comprehensive scheme of anti-malarial operations to be carried out, stage by stage and in a progressive form; and here I must for one moment pause to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. When I took charge of the office

which I hold at the present moment, I found that 33 schemes of anti-malarial operations had already been framed under the auspices and the instructions of His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay. Sir, I know not what the verdict of history will be with regard to His Excellency's administration; but this I will venture to say, without fear of challenge or contradiction, that there will be one resounding note which the historian will sound, that he was a Governor who first realised the magnitude of this great problem and made the first definite effort to grapple with it. There were 33 schemes prepared and framed under instructions from His Excellency. I had a conversation with Mr. Addams-Williams on the subject. He had a large share in the preparation of the schemes. The schemes, if I may say so without disrespect, were lumped together, that is to say, anti-malarial schemes were mixed up with drainage schemes. I asked Mr. Addams-Williams and Dr. Bentley to consider the schemes, and they have formed them into three separate groups, *viz.*, first, these are the schemes which are purely anti-malarial; secondly, those which are partially anti-malarial, and thirdly, those which are drainage and agricultural schemes—the last does not belong to my department. Undoubtedly, these latter will improve the agriculture of the country and will add to the wealth of the people and indirectly will improve their health; but they are not exactly schemes which may properly be regarded as belonging to the Health Department. Therefore, I have had to dissociate myself and my department from them. We are only concerned with the first and the second, purely anti-malarial and partly anti-malarial schemes. But what is the test of the purely malarial schemes? It is a system of flushing and flooding during the rainy season of specified areas with silt-laden water; it is in fact the old system of bonification for which I have been pleading from my place in the Imperial Legislative Council since 1913.

Well, Sir, I had been asked a question by Babu Indu Bhushan Dutta. I do not know whether he is here. (A voice: "He is here.") Very good. I am very glad that he is here. He asked me: "What about the schemes of our Minister?" Here, you are. You have only been criticising us, but we have been working. Criticism is a pleasant performance, but work is better, a more responsible, a more ardous thing. And upon this high and righteous work my department has been engaged. We have got the schemes which I am going to lay before you—schemes already under construction, and schemes that are under investigation. Let me read out to you the schemes which are already under execution—

(1) The Naowi Sunthi scheme covering 146 square miles concerns the 24-Parganas.

(2) The Anjuna scheme which traverses the Nadia and Jessore districts with which my friend, the Maharaja of Krishnagar, is so intimately concerned, about which he spoke to me several times and regarding which there is a very strong body of feeling at Krishnagar as I found it when I was there.

(3) Then, there is the Jabuna scheme extending over 362 square miles, traversing three districts, the 24-Parganas, Nadia and Jessore.

(4) Lastly, there is the Amta-Howrah scheme extending over 126 square miles.

These schemes are already under operation and they will be included in the supplementary Budget which will be laid before this Council. But there are some other anti-malarial schemes proper which are under investigation and as soon as they are completed, they will also be included in the supplementary Budget and you will be invited to grant the money required for them. They are as follows—

(1) The Bhairab scheme, which will cover an area of 800 square miles and covers three districts, viz., 24-Parganas, Jessore and Nadia. It is a scheme of far-reaching importance and will probably cost Rs. 35 lakhs

(2) There is the Jhenida scheme in the Jessore district.

(3) The Dunikhali scheme in the Hooghly and Burdwan districts, and

(4) Lastly, the Raunkini Daha scheme traversing the Hooghly and Burdwan Districts.

As I have said, these schemes are under investigation and, when completed, will be laid before you. And here I desire to associate myself with what has fallen from my friend to my left. You want Bengal to be saved from the ravages of malaria; you want medical schools to be established; you want the wider expansion of medical relief among the people of the province; you want these beneficent activities to be created, fostered and perpetuated Can you do all this for nothing? Do you expect that in this world of God's Province it is possible to get any boon without paying for it? You require money for it. If you pass the Taxation Bills without any substantial modification and in a permanent form, you can start a loan policy. Unless the investors are satisfied that the party which wants the loan is solvent, they will not lend a pice, be the party a Government or an individual. The finances must therefore be placed upon a sound and satisfactory footing, and they can only be so placed by having a surplus—a permanent surplus and not a surplus for three years only, which will serve as the basis for a loan policy. Therefore, those who are clamouring and rightly clamouring—I think I should not use the word "clamouring" I would substitute "crying"—those who are crying for the eradication of malaria, for the expansion of medical relief, crying for the establishment of medical schools, crying for the furtherance of these beneficent activities upon which the health, the progress and the prosperity of this country depend, those who are bent upon this beneficient errand, must make up their mind to pass these Taxation

Bills in the form in which they are, without any substantial modification and as a permanent measure. Without that there is no good having these various schemes which we shall have to lay before you.

I have finished with my programme of anti-malarial operations. I have laid that programme before you. Mind you, I mean to extend it. I have asked my department to go ahead with other programmes. Dr. Bentley is working at other schemes covering different districts. As soon as the programmes and the estimates are ready they will be included in the supplementary Budget and they will be laid before you to grant the money and then they will be taken up. The money must be there and you must find it and that can only be done by having a permanent surplus as the Finance Member suggests.

Babu SURENDRA NATH MALLIK: May I ask the Hon'ble Minister whether it is a fact that a profit of 210 per cent is being made over the sale of quinine?

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: The Hon'ble Minister has not finished yet and you should not interrupt him

The Hon'ble Sir SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA: I have not finished yet Let me finish and then you can interpellate me to your heart's content.

Well, now I have given you a sketch of the programmes and I have observed that we want money to carry them out. What the amount of the loan will be, will depend upon the schemes.

Then, Sir, I think my friend Mr. S. M. Bose asked me: "What are you doing about medical schools? Over that I have not been sleeping either. Somnolence is no part of my programme. We propose, provided you give us the funds, to provide in the Schedule and in the Supplementary Budget for new medical schools Mymensingh is the first; Chittagong second; Jalpaiguri and Berhampur come next; and I want to include Krishnagar too, if possible.

Rai JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE Bahadur: Ten more medical schools, and there will be no money for them.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: You should not interrupt the Hon'ble Minister.

The Hon'ble Sir SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA: I am prepared to answer that question; but let me finish. I must be left uninterrupted as I go on with my speech.

We propose, if the money is found, to do our best to establish these schools in the year 1922-23. But there are difficulties which have to be got over.

Then, Sir, we want to improve the Calcutta hospitals, and hon'ble members will bear in mind the warning note which has been raised by the Council of Medical Education in the United Kingdom, that they

will not recognise your degrees, unless and until your training in midwifery has been placed upon a more satisfactory footing than it is at the present moment. Dr. Walker is out here making enquiries. Thus, it is necessary that we should extend the Eden Hospital, and I propose to include that in the supplementary Budget.

Then, Sir, I propose that more grants should be given to charitable dispensaries and hospitals in the mufassal and to subsidise doctors as suggested by my friend Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur. All these we propose to include in the Supplementary Budget.

My friend, Babu Nirode Behary Mullick, has suggested that as the Allopathic system is very expensive, we ought to have recourse to the Ayurvedic system. Well, gentlemen, we have appointed a Committee and that Committee is making an inquiry and we are awaiting the report of the Committee My views on the subject are liberal, I claim. I am not usually ill, but when I am ill I sometimes go to an Ayurvedic doctor for medicine. There is already in Jessore in connection with the district board an Ayurvedic hospital, and I am negotiating at the present moment for the establishment of an Ayurvedic dispensary in one of the suburbs of Calcutta We are thus alive to the importance of this question

As regards the sale of quinine to which my friend, Mr Mallik, has referred, we have provided a sum of Rs. 60,000, but I want to provide a lakh, if the Finance Department will only allow it. These, Sir, are the activities which we have been trying to promote

One other matter and I am done, because I know there are others who desire to speak after me. There is the question of water-supply, and we propose to purchase an artesian boring instrument at a cost of Rs. 34,000. The whole thing will cost us about Rs. 50,000 an artesian boring machinery for the purpose of supplying cheap water to the mufassal municipalities These are the activities upon which we are engaged.

Rai JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE Bahadur: What about the rural areas?

The Hon'ble Sir SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA: The district boards will look after them, subject to the loans and grants which we may give them. I am very glad that my friend has called attention to this matter. My idea is to obtain a large loan in order to make advances to rural bodies for their water-supply and for other local improvements which they may wish to institute.

This, Sir, roughly speaking, is our programme of work We want your financial and moral support. We are indebted to you for your criticisms, but we want something more; something more substantial. Aided, fortified and strengthened by your moral and financial support and here I speak on behalf of my colleagues, the other

Ministers—we hope to be able to justify the very responsible duties with which Government and you have entrusted us. And I am confident having regard to the strong feeling that there exists in this Council, that the money will be forthcoming, that the Taxation Bills will be passed, that the financial situation will be placed on a sound footing and that Bengal will enter, thus equipped, upon a new career of health, prosperity and opulence.

Mr. TARIT BHUSAN ROY: Will the Hon'ble Minister kindly state whether he is making any arrangements for the sale of cheap quinine?

The Hon'ble Sir SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA: I am afraid I cannot answer that question off-hand.

MEMBER in charge of JUDICIAL and REVENUE [JAILS] DEPARTMENTS (the Hon'ble Sir Abd-ur-Rahim): I do not think that many questions have been raised regarding the departments in my charge and I do not therefore propose to take up much time of this Council. One item has been commented on that with regard to the charges for the pleadership examination which have been put at Rs. 15,000. The fact is that the pleadership examination has been done away with, but there will still be an examination for muktears alone and it is possible that so much money will not be required. We are carrying on correspondence with the High Court as to how much of that amount may be required, but we have put this amount in the Budget for we must await the reply of the High Court in order to be able to tell the Council what the exact amount is that will be required in this connection. I may also point out that we do not propose to spend anything more than what would be realised by the fees for the examination, so that in no case will the revenues of the Province be in any way burdened with the charges for this examination.

As regards Dr. Haridhan Dutt's observation that there are two unnecessary Presidency Magistrates in the Calcutta Police Courts—I think he said that the Traffic Magistrate also was not required—I may remind the Council that the question was debated in this very House not very long ago and the Council decided that it was desirable and necessary that there should be a stipendiary magistrate available for trying traffic cases. I do not think that it can be the desire of this House to go back upon their recent decision in this matter. It was also suggested that we might dispense with the extra magistrate who has been entertained for extra work. As regards that, the position is that the Chief Presidency Magistrate has not yet been able to dispose of the munitions case. The munitions case is still pending on his file and he has to devote some portion of his time to that case. It was said that there had been a decrease in the institution of police cases. I sent for the figures and I find that there has been a slight decline but it is of a very insignificant character. So long as the munitions case lasts there may be a necessity for retaining

another magistrate to dispose of the current work. That was the justification for including his salary in the Budget.

Babu Indu Bhushan Dutta said that there had been a decrease in civil litigation last year and therefore we ought not to have provided for so many munsifs, sub-judges and district judges. In this connection, it is important also to bear in mind that there is a large amount of arrears in the civil courts throughout the presidency. These arrears I do not find decreasing in any appreciable degree, but in a matter of this nature it is the High Court that is the best judge of the situation and in such matters we can only safely act upon the requisition of the High Court. When the High Court tells us that so many more subordinate judges and munsifs are wanted and they give us the figures showing either that there has been an increase in the arrears or there has been an increase in the institutions, then we feel justified in appointing additional sub-judges and munsifs. As a matter of fact there have been a number of temporary officers who have been acting in these capacities for several years and from year to year they have been kept on in the hope that they will be able to dispose of those arrears. We have not yet been able to include them in the permanent cadre on account of the financial stringency in the province. The only alternative left to us was to make these temporary appointments.

I think a complaint was also made as to the sum of Rs. 1 lakh voted and Rs.50,000 non-voted for temporary district and sessions judges. Here also we acted upon the recommendations of the High Court. The High Court is responsible for seeing that there is a sufficient staff of district and sessions judges available for disposing of the current work. It was mainly for the disposal of sessions cases that additional appointments have been made from time to time. These additional appointments have been going on from year to year and the High Court is satisfied that they have to be continued in order to cope with the current work.

A question has also been raised as regards the appointment of extra judges in the High Court. In this connection I must tell the Council that there has recently been a considerable increase in the institutions on the Original Side. Last year, the institutions on the Original Side were 4,565 and this year the number has gone up to 5,378. So there has been an increase of nearly 1,000 cases and there are also arrears on the Appellate Side. The number of cases pending on the 11th February last, were 5,933 of which 1,063 were ready for hearing as against 5,036 on the 5th February. It is on account of these increases in the institutions and in arrears that the High Court wanted to strengthen their staff. It does not lie, as the Council know, with the Government of Bengal to appoint new judges. New judges have to be appointed by the Government of India and by the Secretary of State. The matter went up to the Secretary of State and he has sanctioned the appointment of a temporary Judge.

It was suggested by one of the speakers, I think by Babu Surendra Nath Mallik, that the learned Judges of the High Court do not do a sufficient amount of work. There is an *ex*-Judge of the High Court here and I have no doubt he will be able fairly and fully to contradict this statement.

Besides, if Babu Surendra Nath Mallik had been here I should have liked to point out to him that there is a proceeding known as contempt of court. (Laughter).

Kumar SHIB SHEKHARESWAR RAY: It is privileged.

The Hon'ble Sir ABD-UR-RAHIM: Whether it is privileged or not is a question which may have to be decided and the High Court will have to decide the question.

What I mean to say is that as regards the number of days the learned Judges sit I am not in a position to say whether the figure given by Babu Surendra Nath Mallik, *viz.*, 165 days in the year, is correct. But you must remember that so far as I know the Calcutta High Court has not added to the list of the High Court holidays within recent times. Their sittings are, I believe, the same as they used to be before, and I should think that it is rather a drastic question to raise in this way whether their sitting days should not be increased. At any rate, I do not think that it is a question which can properly be decided by this Council. There is also another complaint made as regards our Budget, namely, as to our legal charges, *i.e.*, for law suits. As a matter of fact we have budgeted for a certain decrease and not an increase. There was an increase in the revised estimate, but it is impossible in a matter of this kind to be accurate in our estimates. I can, however, assure this Council that we are trying our best to cut down our legal charges as far as possible. I may mention that so far as the increase in the revised Budget is concerned it was to a great extent due to the recent prosecutions. There have been also certain other important cases for which pleaders had to be retained. I do not think that there has been any increase in or addition to, the scale of fees though at times more fees had to be paid than they were paid before, but in this matter also Government is not always in a better position than an ordinary litigant. Of course when we have to pay our retained pleaders, there is a definite scale of fees, but when we have to engage gentlemen other than our retained counsel and pleaders, we have to pay fees according to what these gentlemen ordinarily get. I do not think, therefore, that there can be any just complaint in respect of this matter.

MEMBER in charge of DEPARTMENT of REVENUE [LAND REVENUE and FORESTS] and IRRIGATION (the Hon'ble the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan): At this academical discussion of the provisions of the Budget, it is customary for the Member in charge to give such replies as are necessary to the general criticisms that are

made by the members on subjects relating to his departments. Following that precedent, I propose to make a few observations in connection with some of the comments which have fallen from various members of this House with regard to the departments under my charge. If I do not take them *seriatim*, or if I have to repeat my remarks on the same subject, it will be for no other reason except this that I propose to deal with the comments of the members as they got up in rotation to speak in this Council.

Rai Mahendra Chandra Mitra Bahadur raised a wail that we had not provided sufficiently for the development of forests. I am entirely with him in that, but it is for this Council to remedy that by giving me more funds for forests.

Mr. Ajoy Chunder Dutt very pertinently, in connection with the question of general retrenchment that we have had to enforce this year, pointed out the unsatisfactory state of the settlement operations. Here again, I should like to say that I should certainly like to have provided more money for survey and settlements, but as I assured the Council on a resolution not so very long ago brought by a non-official member of this Council, we have stuck to a two-party programme and we have made our estimates on that basis.

Babu Devi Prosad Khaitan would like to see us taking a general hydro-electrical survey of the province. I may say that provision for this purpose has been made in the Budget of Rs. 15,000 to investigate the resources of the province as regards hydro-electric schemes.

Maulvi Emadaduddin Ahmed wanted to know why no provision had been made for the Lady Adviser of the Court of Wards. I did not know that the Maulvi Sahib had a tender corner in his heart for the Lady Adviser. The position as regards the Lady Adviser at present is this. She has gone on leave and is due to retire in November. We have consulted the officers concerned and the Government have come to the decision that there is no need to appoint a successor to Miss Sorabji when she retires in November, and for that reason there is no provision for that post in the Budget after November.

Mr. Bijoy Prosad Singh Roy considers that survey and settlement make lives miserable in the districts, especially when there are traverse surveys. I am rather surprised at his criticising the provision in the Budget for survey and settlement, when it was on a resolution brought by him that I replied that the Government had forestalled his wishes in so far as making the survey and settlement operations on a two-party basis, and what is more, in not starting any new operations for the present.

I now turn to Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri, who is rather fond of taking up a censorial attitude when he speaks on any of the irrigation projects or on provisions with regard to famine, etc. As regards famine, if he will examine the Budget, he will find that there is a

provision of Rs. 50,000 in the Budget for famine and of Rs. 1,50,000 for famine insurance fund, making a total of Rs. 2 lakhs, and therefore it is not correct to say that no provision has been made for famine or for famine insurance fund. Regarding his comments on the Madaripur Bil Route and the Grand Trunk Canal projects, I shall deal with them when I come to the criticisms, curiously more or less of the same nature, emanating from the same corner of the Council relating to these two projects, and I shall also deal with the criticisms that both these gentlemen and Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray have made in connection with those irrigation and navigation projects which have been put in the Budget as unproductive works. I believe Rai Upendra Lal Ray Bahadur also spoke on the Madaripur Bil project. But before I come to these, I should like, first of all, to come to the question that has been raised in this Council by more than one speaker, namely, the abolition of the posts of Divisional Commissioners. Now, I am not going to speak on the general aspect of the Imperial Services or on the question of a cheaper administration for the province, or for the matter of that, for the whole of India, because the responsibility of such a thing not only does not lie with a provincial Government, but not even with the Government of India by itself, as they have got to be considered as a whole and decided by the Imperial Government over which the Secretary of State presides. What I further should like to point out to those gentlemen who are actuated by motives of economy on the one hand, and of trying, on the other hand, to get as much money as they can on the plea of economy for their pet projects, so that they may be able to go to their constituents and say that they have been able to spend so much money on matters of education, sanitation, etc., that it is very easy to destroy but it is not so easy to construct, and whether the whole question of Indianisation of the Services hangs on the question of a cheap service for India, or a province in particular, it has to be solved by higher authorities and it does not at the present moment concern me so much as the question of the abolition of the Divisional Commissioners which has been raised by some of the members of this House, and I know that my friend from Rajshahi, who occasionally does give us a little enjoyment in a dreary afternoon, is particularly anxious that these gentlemen should cease to exist. But my reply to those critics is this. In the first place, I do not, and this is my personal view, advocate the abolition of individual posts until and unless the whole question of retrenchment is taken up. Further, the reason that the committee which has been appointed to go into this question has not been able to make any great progress on this very ground and also because there is now before the Government the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions. That will also have a bearing, indirect as well as direct, on this question. All that I can say at the present moment is that the matter has not been indefinitely shelved but that we hope to reconsider the facts that have been brought before the committee at

a later date. It must, however, be clearly understood that whatever may be the decision arrived at, it is not in the hands of this Council to abolish them forthwith. As regards the question of certain heads of departments, I am not concerned with any other excepting the Director of Land Records and the Director of Surveys. Regarding this matter, Government has practically come to the decision that in view of the two-party basis of the survey and settlement programme, it will be possible when Major Hirst retires some time in 1923, to amalgamate the posts and that question is now being worked out by the Department and in all probability will be given effect to them.

I now turn to the question relating to the price of quinine regarding which Babu S. N. Mallik, in his usual style, spoke with a certain amount of sarcasm. So far as the Revenue Department is concerned, I should like to make it clear to the Council that the Revenue Department is not in the least concerned as to what the Medical Department does in the way of making free distribution of quinine. The Revenue Department is concerned with the revenue that we make. Government did not think itself justified in selling quinine at a rate lower than the market-rate, and for that reason the rate at which it was being sold was considered high by some of the members of this Council, but let me assure the members that as a matter of fact by a strange coincidence the price of quinine is being reduced from to-day from Rs. 48 to Rs. 36 per pound for the simple reason that the market has come down. It is not right for this Council to expect Government to sell quinine at a lower rate than the market-rate. We are concerned with the revenue derived, and I think it is in the hands of the Legislative Council to authorise the Medical Department to make larger grants for the free distribution of quinine. My department is concerned with the revenue derived, and it would not be justified in selling quinine at a lower rate than the market-rate and in view of the present market-rate, the quinine that was being sold at Rs. 48 per pound will be sold at Rs. 36 per pound without loss to the State from to-day.

Sir ASUTOSH CHAUDHURI: May I ask what is the cost of manufacture?

The Hon'ble the MAHARAJADHIRAJA BAHADUR of BURDWAN: It is roughly somewhere between Rs. 17 and Rs. 18 per pound.

Now, before I go back to the question of productive and non-productive works, I think I should make a passing reference to Babu Nalini Nath Roy's charge against the Gazir Khal. I should like the members of this Council to place the question of combating malaria or other diseases, unfortunately common in this presidency, on a separate footing from the question of irrigation generally. Irrigation works have in the past not always been made with an eye as to whether it is going to be

productive or non-productive. It is one of the duties of the State to give facilities to trade in the province: whether in the competition for trade, Manchester goods or Liverpool salt make larger profits than the industries in the province itself or what the promoters of the industries here can show, is not a matter that can be profitably discussed here. The question is—Is it or is it not the duty of the State to give facilities for trade and commerce in the province? If it is the duty of the State—and I say it is—in that case we are perfectly justified in reclaiming a bil, or a khal whether it is the Gazir Khal or any other, and it is to my mind a very narrow view to take that because this particular khal mainly benefits, according to the critic who brings this charge against Government, a particular kind of trade, Government should not improve that particular khal.

Now let me turn to the Grand Trunk Canal, because I think I can dismiss it with a few remarks. Knowing full well that no money has been provided for any actual work for the Grand Trunk Canal, except for establishment and other charges that are necessary, I say I fail to understand why so much should be said about it now. I will submit to this Council at a later stage whether in the present condition of the finance of the province the work should be proceeded with or not, but until that time comes we shall not be justified in providing any money for the actual work of the canal. I said last year that as regards the dredgers the position was different. We ordered those dredgers which we were under a contract to purchase, and even if the Grand Trunk Canal project was not voted by this Council, we should still find sufficient work for those dredgers in this province. What is more, in the Madaripur Bil Route project, for the deepening of which we have provided about Rs. 8 lakhs and which has come in for a good deal of criticism from more than one speaker, I should like to point out that in that provision we have included the working of the dredger, *Ronaldshay*, for six months and we have credited that amount towards the Grand Trunk Canal project naturally, but it has been included in the Madaripur Bil Route this year for the simple reason that when you get a dredger you cannot allow the dredger to lie without doing any work, specially when under the contract you have got to see how the dredger works, and in the Madaripur Bil route we have got an excellent opportunity to see how the new dredger can work; for this reason and for no other reason—not for the choice language that has been used by the two members who have got their eye more on the Bulli Bil than on the Madaripur Bil that this is the thin end of the wedge. When you get a dredger it is your duty to see whether it works satisfactorily or not, and it is for that reason and no other why money has been provided in this connection.

Maulvi EKRAMUL HUQ: May I ask the Hon'ble Member why the same dredger was not employed in the Bhagirathi?

The Hon'ble the MAHARAJADHIRAJA BAHADUR of BURDWAN: I think at present I will not reply to the gentleman who comes from Murshidabad and who did not practically attend a single meeting of the Standing Committee he is on. But I shall answer him at a later stage why that was not possible. But let me first of all answer my critics who have found fault with the Madaripur Bil route.

Well, as will appear from page 71 of what is called the black book—but I call it the grey book—the Financial Statement, it will be found that for the widening and deepening of the Madaripur Bil route we have provided Rs. 7,88,000 and that the sanctioned estimate has been Rs. 13,65,818. I may say, of course, that the way in which the Budget is framed it is more intelligible to the Finance Department than to other members, but still what I say is this, that the Finance Department is very largely guided by the figures given to them. I consider that instead of putting down Rs 13,65,818, Rs. 62 lakhs should have been put down for the simple reason that the original project of the Madaripur Bil route was estimated to cost Rs. 32 lakhs, but the original estimate provided for 173 feet of bed-width. Later on it was found that it was not sufficient and we then had to work out with 275 feet bed-width, and this along with the question of widening and deepening of the Bil brought up the estimate to Rs. 62 lakhs. Out of this Rs. 62 lakhs we have spent up to date Rs. 53 lakhs, that is up to 1920-21. This year we are likely to spend something like Rs. 4 to 5 lakhs. Next year we have provided for the completion of the project and we may probably have to come to the Council again for a further grant. Anyhow we have provided Rs. 8,88,000 in this year's Budget, as I said, including the cost for the working of a new dredger for six months, which will help materially towards the deepening of the Madaripur Bil route. Now, as everyone knows, this Bil route was started to shorten the distance between Calcutta and Assam, to facilitate trade and nobody can deny that we must, as a Government, give facilities for the improvement of inland trade. It would, therefore, be a suicidal policy at the present moment either to criticise or to obstruct a project like the Madaripur Bil project, when we are, as I said, nearing completion; in fact all that remains of that project is the question of deepening.

Now as regards the comments made by more than one speaker, specially by Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray, there is no doubt that at the present moment we have three unproductive canals in the province and only one productive canal. The three unproductive canals are the Midnapore Canal, the Hijli Tidal Canal and the Calcutta Canals; and the productive canal is the Madaripur Bil route which brings us annually something near Rs. 2 lakhs. Now the reasons why the others are unproductive are the following. In the first place when these canals were made some 40 or 50 years ago—if not more, I have not got the exact date before me—the Government did not excavate them with

the idea of making profit out of them, but mainly for the improvement of inland navigation. To give an instance, I shall only cite the Midnapore Canal. Government took this over merely as a famine relief work, and the reason that the total loss on it is so large is because interest has to be paid on the capital cost which was borrowed from the Government of India so that although the actual loss on the working is only Rs. 4,000 and odd, the annual loss comes up to Rs. 2,78,000—the cost of the interest that has to be paid to the Government of India for the loan. The same applies with equal force to the other two canals and because under the new system we cannot——

Kumar SHIB SHEKHARESWAR RAY: Under what head of expenditure is this loss of Rs. 4,000 shown? I find the amount is Rs. 4,00,000 here.

The Hon'ble the MAHARAJADHIRAJA BAHADUR of BURDWAN: I think the Kumar himself gave me the head. I am speaking of the Midnapore Canal and not of the Calcutta and Eastern Canals which was Rs. 4,00,000 These are the figures, but I cannot for the moment lay my finger on the page. These figures that we possess show the actual loss in the working of the Midnapore Canal—Rs. 4,576 and the interest on the capital is Rs. 2,74,000 which I think is included in the figures on page 19. That brings up the total loss on the Midnapore Canal to Rs. 2,78,000.

What I mean to say is this; would any member of this Council seriously suggest at the present moment that in view of this loss we should close down the Midnapore Canal, the Hijli Tidal Canal and the Calcutta and Eastern Canals? I do not think that they would suggest it for a moment (here Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri interrupted the Hon'ble Member, by putting a question which was inaudible at the Reporters' table). I object to this constant interference, Sir, with my speech. After I have finished my speech and sat down I should be very pleased to offer any further explanations, if necessary.

Now, Sir, what I say is this. In view of all these facts it is not possible to label these works as productive works, specially in view of the test under which we have got to label these works now. On the other hand, as I have mentioned, it would be a folly and nothing short of a folly to consider that any of these canals should be closed, for the Midnapore Canal alone irrigates about 80,000 acres of land and an immense amount of crops is grown upon this area.

Now as regards Mr. Bijoy Prosad Singh Roy's complaint about no work having been done for relief from Damodar floods I should like to point out to him that the Department does not think it to be necessary at the present moment to provide for very large items since we can go into the whole question when we take up the Damodar Canal project. If my friend, however, would turn to page 71 he would find that the question has not been entirely lost sight of and that we have in al'

provided Rs. 55,400 for expenditure on works in connection with mitigating the effects of floods.

That is the amount that we can possibly spend during the coming year. I quite agree that until and unless we can work out the whole Damodar Canal Project we can only nibble at the question. There is also the question of finance. Moreover, I have mentioned at an early stage that we are not able at the present moment to label the work as productive and we are not justified in taking up the time of the Council over this question. I may personally say, however, that I desire to see the work finished as it is a work of great importance

I think, Sir, that I have mentioned practically all the points which require reply. What I should like my critics to remember in connection with the irrigation projects is this; that howeversomuch we may desire to start new works in view of the present state of the finance, our primary duty is first to complete the works that are now in progress. Having done so, there would be ample time for us to look round and take in hand others from the number of new works which we have got in the Schedule and which are awaiting execution As regards the Grand Trunk Canal project let me assure them once more that the Government have no desire to indulge in any hanky-panky about this project I am going to place the estimates before the Council and the Council will have an opportunity to consider the matter and also to consider whether in view of the magnitude and the importance of the work and also in view of the fact that we can make it productive (if we can do so)—whether or not we should proceed with the project. If the Council thinks that the work should be provided with, it would be proceeded with, but if the Council thinks otherwise then the project will be abandoned and in any case, the responsibility will lie on its shoulders.

As regards the comment or rather the query of my friend from Murshidabad, I should like to point out to him that there is such a thing as expert opinion in these matters and expert opinion is doubtful as to whether the dredging of the Bhagirathi is within the bounds of possibility. I think that question has been gone into, and I do think it would do any good to put one dredger on the Bhagirathi simply to give some satisfaction to those who think that the dredging work of the Bhagirathi should be done. But I should like to point out that all these matters which relate to the question of dredging in order to keep up to their marks the navigable rivers of the province are always considered by the department and the department is fully alive to the question.

There is only one other matter that I should like to refer before I close my remarks. Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray in speaking upon the irrigation question asked whether in view of these works being unproductive, we should not have an expert brought out from England to go into the question and to consider whether these unproductive works should be stopped. I am afraid I must disagree with him for the simple

reason that so long as we are bound to pay this interest to the Government of India no amount of expert criticism can change the aspect of things. What is more I think, the Kumar will be the first to admit that we can teach in India an English expert more than the English expert can teach us in matters of irrigation, because an English expert has no knowledge and experience of the rivers of this province or of India. For these reasons, Sir, I think the Kumar's suggestion is out of the bounds of possibility.

MEMBER in charge of APPOINTMENT, POLITICAL, POLICE, and LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENTS (the Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler): Quite appropriately, most of the criticisms which have been adduced in the course of the last two days have reference to the general financial position in the province, and according to custom, it is the Finance Member who will deal with them. Following, therefore, the example of my Hon'ble Colleagues, I will simply deal with the few specific points concerning the departments with which I am connected, and I trust I may be able to do so briefly, the more so because regarding them I have spoken frequently and quite recently.

The first group of criticisms of this kind has reference to the cost of our establishments. We are told that they are over-staffed and over-paid, and that view has been pressed with some vehemence by Professor S. C. Mukherji, Rai Bahadur Radha Charan Pal, Rai Bahadur Upendra Lal Ray, Maulvi Mahboob Ali and Maulvi Madassur Hussain. Taking the establishments which are at the top of the tree, it is of course obvious that, as a result of the Reforms, the number of the actual Government has increased, but it is within the life-time of this Council that I explained the reasons, both in respect of Members and Ministers, pointing out that we are largely governed in this matter by the decisions arrived at by the Joint Committee of the Houses of Parliament. Apart from that, it is surely clear that administration on present lines has added enormously to the work of Government. Last year there were 60 sittings of the Legislative Council, and this year, if we are to continue at the present rate, that figures is likely to be exceeded. Clearly the claims on the time of the members of Government is much more than what was expected of their predecessors, and the same may also be said as regards committees. But apart from our number, we are told that we are overpaid, and Babu Fanindralal Dey made a statement that our salaries are at once the envy and the amusement of the whole civilized world. At the present day anything which brings a smile to a somewhat depressed world is to be welcomed, but I am afraid it would be but a dry and sardonic smile which would come over the faces of the recipients of these emoluments when they heard such a description, since they know full well what their prospects and future really are. But another form of this general criticism is that Government has failed entirely to carry out the intention of the Reform Scheme in so far as during the first year of its

existence it has not set itself systematically to tear down the existing system of administration, and one member gave a long list, covering the widest field, of persons who are to be got rid of, while all to have their pay reduced. The charge is somewhat sweeping, and it is no use trying to discuss now details of the whole administration, but I would point out that it was never the intention of the Reforms Scheme that it should bring about a premature dissolution of the existing system, and safeguards were in fact put in the Government of India Bill which were intended to prevent such a thing from happening. Compatibly with the responsibilities which are thrown upon us under the present system, we clearly could not accept such a proposition.

We have our old friend, the Ministers' salaries, again mentioned by two speakers—Professors Mukherji and Rai Mahendra Chandra Mitra Bahadur—but in view of the fact that there was recently a discussion about the matter, and that it may come up again very soon, I hardly think that I need travel the ground once more.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur has drawn attention to a perfectly true and legitimate point, viz., the cost of the Legislative Council. That is obviously a result of the change of Government brought about by the Reforms, and in a few days more I am going to ask for a very substantial increase of the grant for travelling allowance of members. Printing expenses of the Council have also gone up very noticeably, and the whole is an inevitable corollary of the system of Government which has been deliberately adopted. I shall have to speak more fully about this matter in connection with a resolution relating to the travelling allowance of non-official members. Dr. Haridhan Dutt Bahadur has put forward the proposal that first class travelling allowances should in all cases be reduced to second class, but that would be a departure from the principle on which these allowances have hitherto been given. While travelling allowance is not intended to be a source of profit, it is intended to meet the legitimate expenditure to which an officer is put when travelling in the style which his position entitles him to, on the work of State. If an officer under these conditions would ordinarily travel first class, and we say we are only going to give him second class, we are either derogating from his legitimate position or asking him to make good from his private pocket what is properly a public charge.

Another point I find in my list is raised by Professor S. C. Mukherji. It is the old question of the exodus to the hills. This question was debated in this Council, and subsequently to that we passed orders to the effect that the Secretariat, as such, would not move to the hills; that the clerical staff should be cut down to a minimum, and that the duration of the stay should be curtailed. These orders have been faithfully carried out, and in the present year's budget the total expenditure under this head comes up to Rs. 39,000 only. Out of this, some Rs. 5,000 concern the Governor's establishment, and it is admitted on all hands that the Governor should go to the hills. So, practically, it is only a sum of about

Rs. 34,000 which is the expenditure on this account, and if for that sum we do get the efficiency which we claim to be the result of the move, then I put it to the Council that even as a financial investment it is not a bad one.

Rai Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta Bahadur has referred to the excessive pay of the Bengal Civil Service, both in the Judicial and Executive branches. I would remind him that the rates were arrived at after a protracted public discussion, and that the criticism levelled against us at the time was that we had been mean rather than generous.

There remains, Sir, my main subject—the Police. As usual, we have a general charge of extravagance voiced in different tones. We have Professor Mukherji's complaint about the "preposterous expenditure on an over-pampered" police; Rai Mahendra Chandra Mitra Bahadur's "emphatic protest against needless expenditure": Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur's suggestion that the expenditure is "susceptible of reduction"; Babu Fanindralal De's lamentation over the police "as usual absorbing the lion's share"; Rai Harendranath Chaudhuri's groan that there is no "pruning-knife" applied to the police, and Mr. Krishna Chandra Ray Chaudhuri's protest against being asked to contribute to a body which simply exists for "the oppression of the raiyat"—all these expressions are familiar to us, and we have often dealt with them in this Council, and I can only repeat again that, judging by any test, whether by what obtains in other provinces or by the experience of the officers connected with the police, or by theoretical grounds which render likely an increase of expenditure under this head, we cannot admit the correctness of the theory that we are paying unduly in this respect.

Passing to details, I may in the first instance say how much I appreciate the personal references to my impending retirement which have emanated from Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray and Khan Bahadur Abdus Salam, and for which I thank them cordially. But I am afraid that this is rather the jam in which the powder in the prescription has been enwrapped, and I can scarcely absorb the jam while ignoring the powder. I would rather endeavour to point out to the Council that the powder has been inserted in the prescription under a wrong diagnosis.

The first complaint that has been made is about the want of official co-operation which is said to have manifested itself in the Police Retrenchment Committee. But that I think is a complaint which is scarcely well-founded. This Committee has been sitting for some time, and much information which they have asked for regarding the pay and establishments of the Bengal and Calcutta police has been given to them, at the cost of much time and labour to the Secretariat, which all, again, means money. I find we have given them copies of the last three budgets, Mr. Gourlay's contribution towards the history of the police in Bengal, Sir John Cumming's lecture at the East Indian Association, the report of a recent Police Committee in the United Provinces, of the Police Regulations, Bengal, and the report of the Railway Police Committee. We

have further given them long type written notes showing the origin, functions, staff and cost of different branches under the general head "Police," namely, the river police, 11 pages; the military police, 4 pages; the intelligence branch, 10 pages; the district intelligence staff; 6 pages; the special branch, Calcutta police, 4 pages; the criminal investigation department, 15 pages; the police training schools, 3 pages;—a total of 53 type written pages. Then again we have answered questions regarding the river police, 4 by us and 21 by the Inspector-General; military police, 8 by us and 14 by the Inspector-General; railway police, 14; criminal investigation department, 26; intelligence branch, 12; district intelligence staff, 7, and the police training school, 13. These answers to questions again run up to many pages. I submit, therefore, that it cannot fairly be said that we have not done our best to meet the committee's thirst for information. We were not prepared with detailed answers regarding other provinces, and the statement that we gave an answer to that effect is correct. But I put it to the Council that that attitude was not unreasonable. We do not know details of other provinces, and we have no right to call upon them to answer theoretical questions of all kinds. We occasionally collect information from other provinces on points of fact, but theoretical answers as to the merits or otherwise of systems in other provinces—even if our requests elicited them—would not be of much use to us. As regards the particular matter of the military police in Bengal, the point was fully dealt with in the report of the last Police Commission which explained the existing conditions here and elsewhere. We also put before the committee, the reasons why the military police were allowed to continue in Bengal. One obvious point of difference between this province and, say, the United Provinces or the Punjab, is that whereas military cantonments in both these provinces are fairly numerous, in Bengal, outside Calcutta and Darjeeling, we have no troops at all.

Then we have been told that the military police are obviously in excess of our requirements because never more than 200 men, out of 850, were sent away from headquarters, and that only on one occasion. I think the member will find on further examination of the papers that his figure of 200 is wrong, while he also overlooks the facts that we have a substantial establishment permanently at Buxar. But is the circumstance that the whole regiment was not on duty in isolated areas of the province at any one time any proof that the number is excessive? Surely the test is rather of a novel character. It was only last year that we had the officer in command of the regiment at Dacca shrieking at the way in which his force was being scattered all over the province, leaving the reserve at Dacca itself absolutely inadequate had any incident occurred necessitating its employment. There must clearly be a reserve of force to deal with an emergency should it arise. Again, bearing in mind the fact that outside Calcutta and Darjeeling we have no troops in the province, let alone actual experience, it is far from the fact that this force is

in excess of our requirements. In fact I have been pressed to locate special forces in the mill areas over and above the battalion that is to be found at Dacca.

The third charge, and the last, of Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray has reference to the excessive number of ponies (28) that are to be found at Sarda, and I take it the Council will have gathered from his speech that he has succeeded in unearthing the awful scandal that the local officers were enjoying polo and pigsticking at Government expense.

I am sorry to disappoint him. The facts were reported by the local officers to Government in November, 1920, and I will read what was then said:—

At present there are 15 permanent and 17 temporary syces for 32 horses sanctioned for the college. According to the scale of one horse for 5 probationers so many animals will not be necessary next year. The obvious course would be to dispose of the extra number, but these are specially trained animals and it would be a pity to sell all extra horses at a time for any price they may fetch. I am accordingly instructing the Principal to dispose of 4 disabled and old horses and to curtail the number of temporary syces by 4. It seems to me little use selling more horses just for this one year and then buy again in 1922 when recruitment will be open again. The price of horses has gone up considerably and we shall have to pay high prices to refill our stable. Taking all these facts into consideration I recommend that the remaining 13 temporary syces be retained.

That is the simple report of the position which was received at the time from the officers concerned. They took the view, and it is a reasonable view, that looking to the fact that the number of men under training was abnormally low, and would in all probability go up, it was not wise, merely on account of a temporary incident of that kind, to reduce a stable which might soon have to be built up again when conditions became normal. But I am perfectly willing to put down any extravagance that can be discovered, and I will inquire whether in view of present circumstances the existing stable should be retained during the ensuing year.

I have only two other small points in connection with the police; one is that of Dr. Haridhan Dutt who has quite intelligibly been misled by the papers. He refers to a lump provision of Rs. 1,64,000 under the Presidency Police against which it is noted that further details are not available, and he argues that if we cannot give details, clearly that amount might be saved. In the first place I would point out that this refers to the Budget of 1921-22, and not to the Budget of the ensuing year, while I can only imagine that if details were not available it was due to a mistake of the Department under my Hon'ble Colleague. In connection with the budget of last year members will recognise this printed statement which I hold in my hand and which was then circulated containing full details of this lump provision, and it is to that statement that the footnote should have referred.

The last point that I have to mention is that raised by Babu Indu Bhushan Dutta, who says that we have not paid attention to the recommendations of a local committee at Dacca to substitute a non-commissioned

Indian officer for a European sergeant. It is true that that suggestion was made, but so far as I know it was never pursued. In any case the sum involved is trifling, though I will have the matter examined.

That closes the detailed points which I find mentioned in my notes, and I would only in conclusion make one general remark. The point that has struck me more than anything else as important in this debate, in the course of which we have heard so much of the demands upon our resources and of the need for retrenchment, is the striking disproportion between our total resources and the demands which are expected to be fulfilled from them. The important factor in the situation is this. We have a province of 45 million people or more, and we are seeking to run the administration on a revenue which on the present scale fluctuates between Rs. 9 and 10 crores, that is, under £7 million. That is the predominating fact which can never be overlooked. Speaking in the broadest way, in the old days—in the pre-war days—the administration of the province was conducted by a small establishment of more highly trained men, supervising large establishments—clerical, menial and others—of which the cost was, on the whole, cheap. That being the system, the resources at the disposal of the province were sufficient to meet the elementary essentials of administration and to allow a small margin from which, year by year, a certain amount of progress was effected—progress not nearly so rapid as the officers in charge of the administration would have liked to have seen, but still in normal circumstances progress to a certain extent. Now unfortunately that position has been very largely changed. Since the war the cost of these establishments, which in the earlier days was low, has gone up and has absorbed a far larger portion of our resources, which, on their side, have not gone up in a corresponding degree, and to make matters worse, in addition to the fact that the margin between the necessary expenses of administration and income has been so reduced, we have an enormous expansion in the demands and expectations which have arisen. On this small income of something like £7 million we are being expected to give in this province of 45 million people an administration of a highly developed western standard, and although the conclusion is an unpleasant one, I put it to the Council that it is not possible to reconcile these two facts. It is perfectly open to the owner of a carriage to feel it as an abominable shame that he cannot travel at the pace of a motor car, and he may in the hope of achieving greater speed whip up his horses even to the danger of a breakdown or an upset. But the fact remains that until he can afford a motor car he will have to be content with the slower pace of a carriage. The analogy holds good in provincial finance, even though in that connection some of our critics may advocate the further expedient of starving the coachman. But, Sir, the truth of this conclusion is undeniable, and it seems to me to influence the whole debate and all the criticisms of the kind which we have heard in the course of this debate.

MEMBER in charge of FINANCE, COMMERCE and MARINE DEPARTMENTS (the Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Kerr): The Budget debate this year has been mercifully short and I shall endeavour to be short in my reply also. My colleagues, the Ministers and Members, have dealt with the matters affecting their departments and it only remains for me to discuss a few general points in connection with the financial statement. As I said when I introduced the Budget, the financial position of the Bengal Government has been discussed threadbare in recent months, and there is very little that is now to be said about it. It was to be expected that the question of retrenchment would take the leading place in the remarks made by various speakers on the Budget. I do not complain of that in the very least—it is very natural in the circumstances having regard to the situation in which we are placed—but I do think that some acknowledgment might have been made of the fact that hitherto we have always met the Council in the matter of retrenchment inquiries. Retrenchment, of course, is an entirely different thing from economy. Economy we are practising all the time. We have been practising economy by force of circumstances for many years, and we are now adepts in the art. But retrenchment means a definite curtailment of the activities of Government or a definite reduction of the pay enjoyed by the staff employed by Government. This question of retrenchment was first mooted by Babu Surendra Nath Mallik at the first meeting which was held in February, 1921. I then suggested to the Council that it was premature to go into the question of retrenchment until we had further experience of the working of the reformed constitution, and until our financial position was more settled. I promised, however, that Government would not be obstructive and would not conceal anything and that it would meet the Council in every possible way in satisfying it as to the propriety of its expenditure proposals. I also pointed out that as the Council enjoyed large powers of control over the expenditure of Government, it would be very foolish of us to try any obstructive tactics or to conceal any material points from the Council. Mr. Mallik thereupon withdrew his resolution. But we had the same question up several times later on in connection with proposals like the abolition of Commissionerships of Divisions and the reduction of expenditure on the police, and in order to meet the Council's wishes we appointed committees to go into these questions. These committees are still sitting and they have not yet submitted their reports. I gather that it will be some time before their reports are submitted; and we have not had the advantage of considering the reports in connection with the Budget now before us. We had another proposal for a general retrenchment committee before us at the meeting which was held at the beginning of December last. I then pointed out the old objections to a large committee of this kind endeavouring to cover the whole field of Government activities. I suggested, however, that we could meet the

wishes of those members who desired to satisfy themselves about the possibility of retrenchment in our expenditure by instructing the standing committees to scrutinise the departmental budgets and to report to the Councils what retrenchments and economies were possible. That suggestion of mine was received with applause. It was acted upon and the standing committees have been carrying out the functions assigned to them with results which everybody knows. Now we are told that the standing committees were not suitable for their job, that they were overwhelmed by the officials and the heads of departments and that they had no chance of expressing their views. I find it difficult to believe that this state of affairs really prevailed on any standing committees which included such independent members as Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray, Babu Indu Bhushan Dutta and Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri and others. The standing committees no doubt quite rightly listened to the expert official advice and information which was placed before them. They would indeed have acted recklessly if they had done otherwise, but I must decline to believe that the standing committees were over-awed by the heads of departments in the manner which has been suggested in some of the speeches that were made yesterday.

Now we are told by my friend Rai Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta Bahadur that he wants a general retrenchment committee with a different angle of vision and a wider outlook. He had a resolution on the paper to this effect the other day, but he did not come to move it nor did anybody else move it in his behalf. I was prepared to discuss the point if the resolution had been moved, but I have no time to go into that matter at length to-day, and I need not repeat in detail my objections to general retrenchment committees attempting to cover every field of Government activities. As I have told the Council before, I fear that such a general retrenchment committee trying to cover the whole field of the administration would find it impossible to come to any definite conclusion within any period that is measurable by months if not by years, and also that a general retrenchment committee, like the standing committees, is much more likely to recommend an increase in expenditure than retrenchment. The fact is that retrenchment committees have nothing to do with angles of vision or wider outlooks or anything of that kind. Some people seem to think that we have in the Secretariat, locked up in some almirah, a magic wand called retrenchment, and that if the Council only goes on appointing retrenchment committees, one of these committees will some day find that magic wand. But unfortunately there is nothing magic about the question of retrenchment. It is a matter of dull plodding inquiry dealing with proposition statements, scales of establishment and things of that kind, and finding out what work particular people are doing and why they have to be paid certain rates for doing it. That is the only form of retrenchment inquiry that could

possibly do any good; but it is a form of inquiry which means months of hard work for those who take it up and I think the Council will do well to weigh the probability of any satisfactory result before it imposes any labour of this kind upon any committee.

Mr. HUSEYN SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY: May I point out to the Hon'ble Member the success which the Geddes' Committee has achieved in England?

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. KERR: I will deal with the Geddes' Committee shortly. The experience of the Police Retrenchment Committee in Bengal confirms what I have said about the difficulties of Retrenchment Committees in general.

The only definite suggestions for retrenchment that we have had before us in the course of this debate are those relating to the reduction of the salaries of officers. Sir Henry Wheeler has already discussed that point and I need not go into it at any length now. I will merely remind the Council of the figures that I gave when I introduced the taxation Bills. Neither this Council nor the Bengal Government have any control over the salaries of Imperial officers, and moreover, if we proceeded to disband the Imperial Services in the province to-morrow the immediate financial relief would be nothing at all. On the other hand, the Council has very full powers of control over the salaries of the Provincial, Subordinate and Ministerial Services, and if anybody has any practical proposal to make regarding retrenchment so far as these services are concerned, it is open to him to lay his proposals before this Council either in connection with the demands for grants or by special resolutions. I doubt very much, however, whether the majority of the members of the Council really desire a drastic reduction in the pay of these services. As has been explained in this Council over and over again, the readjustment of the pay of those services was long over-due before the Reforms were thought of and that is a point of view against which I have not yet heard any valid argument given.

In these circumstances, it seems to me rather unreasonable to blame Government because neither the standing committees nor anybody else have been able to make any proposals for retrenchment other than those which Government has already devised for itself. It seems to be suggested that if the officials would only co-operate, the non-officials would be able to do something. May I suggest that the reason for the attitude of the officials in this matter is not sheer unmitigated obstinacy, but the fact that they know the facts of the case and feel honestly convinced in their own minds that it is not possible to suggest anything feasible likely to produce any great result. I would ask any member of this Council who wishes to pursue this retrenchment question further, to have a quiet half an hour's talk with any head of a department, about the needs of his department, the Inspector-General of Police, the Surgeon-General, the Director of Public Health or anybody else. I should be very surprised

if after that interview the member of Council did not come away with his ideas somewhat changed about the possibility of retrenchment. As I have said before, the Finance Department have pruned the Budget ruthlessly. Heads of departments use stronger language than this about our action, and I have very little doubt that if given a chance they would impress their views on this Council or any retrenchment committee of the Council. It has been suggested that we should go in for heroic measures such as have recently been propounded in England by the Geddes' Committee. But can it be seriously contended that conditions are the same or that there are the same opportunities for heroic measures in Bengal as in England? The Geddes' Committee were dealing with a budget of about a thousand million pounds sterling; here in Bengal our budget is about seven million pounds, a mere fraction of the British budget. We have to provide out of that budget for the public administration of a presidency containing a population very much the same as that of England and it stands to reason—I think it is impossible and it would be unreasonable to expect anything heroic from the endeavours of any retrenchment committee however zealous and eager they might be to bring about economy. Moreover, I may remind the Council that there are questions looming over our heads like the separation of the judicial and executive which I fear will do far more than swallow up any small retrenchment that we might be able to effect in our existing scale of expenditure. I agree that even if our finances are put on a sound footing we must continue in every way to strive for economy, but for the reason which I have given I have no great hopes of any large measures of retrenchment being found possible. However, as I have said, we have always so far endeavoured to meet the Council in regard to proposals for retrenchment inquiries which have been put before us, and we are anxious to continue the same course. If then anyone has any further ideas which he wishes to ventilate on the subject, let him bring them up by all means at the proper time, and we will see what we can do to meet them. But a retrenchment inquiry properly carried out will be a matter of months at the very least, and will not help us in connection with our present budget.

Now I will turn briefly to the general remarks that have been made on the Budget. I am grateful to those members who have accepted the view that this Budget is not a complete Budget, and that our financial and administrative programme should not receive final judgment until we have an opportunity of putting our further proposals before the Council. I fully admit that even if we get our taxation proposals through the Council in their present form, we shall have only a slender surplus, but I have explained to the Council the manner in which we propose to make the best possible use of that surplus. At a later stage I hope to be able to explain our proposals in further detail, but I cannot do that to-day. But the Council may be sure that these proposals will come before it for consideration in due course. Under the rules, both our proposals for a loan policy and our proposals for the allocation and

expenditure of any surplus that we may get, must be placed before the Council for approval. But as somebody suggested yesterday, it is no use counting our chickens before they are hatched, so I am sure the Council will agree that it is no use going into the matter further at present.

Mr. Krishna Chandra Ray Chaudhuri made several suggestions for new forms of taxation. I am not myself prepared to go as far as he would like in the matter of robbing hen-roosts, and I think that the feeling of this Council and of the country will probably be that the time has not yet come when we can go in for radical proposals of this kind. However, as I told the Council before, we have decided to take up the question of death duties and I hope that we shall be able to appoint a committee to meet after this Council session is over to go into that question, whereby we shall have, I hope, a reserve of further funds which we can obtain if it is the desire of this Council to go in for a policy of expansion in those departments which the Council regards with most favour.

Then my friend Babu Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri said this taxation ought to have been imposed last year, but I would remind him that last year our financial position was still uncertain; we had still hopes then of getting adequate financial assistance from the Government of India, and I do not think it would have been wise on our part to put taxation proposals before the Council, until we were sure that they were absolutely unavoidable. I am much concerned to hear that somebody has been calling Babu Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri a Bolshevist. I cannot imagine any description more inappropriate to my venerable friend than that term, but I am afraid that though Babu Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri is not a Bolshevist, he is a pessimist of the worst type. He assumes that we are going to be disappointed in our estimates of revenue next year; that our taxation schemes are not going to bring in even as much as we have ventured to anticipate on our designedly moderate calculations, and that, in fact, everything is going as badly as possible for us during the coming year. Several other speakers have been inclined to take the same view. This is a point of view which people are apt to take when they wake up in the middle of the night and begin to think about their troubles. They are apt at that time to look at the darkest side of things and to reflect on what is going to happen if everything turns out badly and nothing goes well. But, as a rule, when they wake up in the morning they are able to see things in their proper light. They are able to reflect that there is a silver lining to the darkest cloud and that things are not, on the whole, likely to go badly for all time. I would like to suggest seriously that there is no reason for the unmitigated gloom and depression which have marked several of the speeches which we have heard here during the last two days. There might be some justification for it, if the Budget as it stands, with its deficit of Rs. 120 lakhs, was the final word to be said with regard to our financial position, but that is not

the case. The Council have, I must say, tackled the situation manfully and have agreed in principle to the imposition of taxation to meet our difficulties. We shall have opportunities next week of discussing the taxation proposals in detail, but I cannot imagine that the Council is going to abandon the position which it has taken up, or to relax its efforts to put our finances on a sound footing. We have come through a thoroughly bad year; we have been disappointed not only in our expectations of a revision of the Financial Settlement which would meet our difficulties, but our revenues for various reasons have fallen off, and even with the aid of substantial retrenchment, we have been unable to make our accounts balance. The year is nearly over and let us hope that we shall have better times in the future. We have, I take it, resolved to face the situation, and even at the risk of incurring some personal unpopularity we have decided to ask the country to incur sacrifices in order to put the Government of this presidency in a position to carry out its responsibilities. The Council has decided to raise more money in order not merely to cover our deficit, but also to give us a small working surplus on the basis of which we can go in for a policy of expansion. That being so, I put it to the Council that there is at least a prospect that a month hence we shall be in a much better position than at any time since the Reforms were inaugurated, and it is surely a mistake for us to go about pulling long faces and uttering lamentations about our woeful plight. To put the matter on the lowest ground, this sort of thing is not likely to strengthen our credit on the money market. I agree that facile optimism will do us no good, but neither will unrelieve pessimism. We have to frame our Budget for the coming year on facts as we find them. Taking the position as a whole we are justified in anticipating some improvement over the conditions of the past 12 months and at least the approach of a return to a more normal state of affairs. In the long run that view will justify itself; that is the principle on which we have framed this Budget, and on which we base our expectations for the future if our taxation proposals go through in the form in which we recommend. I ask the Council then to accept our estimates after giving them their best consideration and to regard them as being, at any rate, the best forecast of the situation that we can make at the present moment.

Adjournment.

The Council then adjourned till 3 P.M. on the 2nd March, 1922, at the Town Hall, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act.

THE Council met in the Council Chamber, in the Town Hall, Calcutta, at 3 P.M. on Thursday, the 2nd March, 1922.

Present:

The Deputy-President in the Chair, the Hon'ble the four Members of the Executive Council, the Hon'ble the three Ministers and 93 nominated and elected members.

Unstarred Questions

(answers to which were laid on the table).

Free fisheries.

207. Babu TANKANATH CHAUDHURI: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Department of Revenue (Land Revenue) be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether there are free fisheries in Lower Bengal;

(*ii*) if so, in which of the districts the fisheries are free;

(*iii*) in which of the districts Government derives revenue from fisheries;

(*iv*) in which of the districts fisheries are held under permanent settlement; and

(*v*) in what kinds of rivers fisheries are free;

(*b*) Are the Government considering the desirability of deriving any revenue by leasing out the fisheries which are free?

(*c*) If the answer to (*b*) is in the negative, will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to state the reasons?

MEMBER in charge of DEPARTMENT of REVENUE (LAND REVENUE) (the Hon'ble the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan): (*a*) As the phrase "free-fisheries" is ambiguous and has not been understood in the same sense by all District Officers in replying to the inquiry made by the Board of Revenue, the information obtained is not complete. In the following replies by free fisheries are meant fisheries which are not included within permanently or temporarily settled estates and for which no revenue has been assessed by Government.

(*i*) and (*ii*) Yes, in the districts of Hooghly, Howrah, 24-Parganas, Khulna (Sundarbans), Bakarganj, Chittagong, Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Malda.

(*iii*) The replies received are not clear, but, assuming that the question refers to fisheries forming separate estates for which revenue is paid to Government, it appears that Government derives revenue from fisheries in all but one or two districts.

(*iv*) Assuming that the question refers to fisheries forming separate estates under permanent settlement, it appears that there are such estates in the following districts:—

Burdwan, Birbhum, 24-Parganas, Nadia, Jessore, Dacca, Faridpur, Bakarganj, Chittagong, Noakhali, Rangpur and Jalpaiguri.

(*v*) Generally speaking, it is in tidal or navigable rivers that free fisheries exist.

(*b*) This is not at present under consideration.

(*c*) The question has been considered in the past. If free fisheries, as defined above, were leased out, it would involve the realisation from fishermen of dues which they have not paid in the past and of which only a part would be received by Government. Fishermen as a class are poor, and Government were averse to making them pay when they were not doing so before.

Promotion from Bengal Civil Service to listed posts.

208. Rai PYARI LAL DOSS Bahadur: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Appointment Department be pleased to state whether he has received a copy of the resolution of the Indian Legislative Assembly recommending the immediate filling up of one-fourth of the vacancies in the post of superior scale of Indian Civil Service in every province by promotion from the ranks of the Provincial Service?

(*b*) If, so, what steps, if any, the Government have taken or are going to take to give effect to the aforesaid resolution?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing—

(*i*) the total number of permanent District and Additional Judges in Bengal,

(*ii*) the number that is reserved for, or listed open to, the members of the Judicial Branch of the Bengal Civil Service?

(*d*) Are the Government considering the advisability of increasing the number of these listed posts at once?

(*e*) Is it a fact that the Government have recently appointed some junior civilians of 6 to 8 years' standing reverting certain subordinate judges who held these posts for more than a year?

(*f*) Are the Government considering the desirability of filling up these temporary additional judgeships by the appointment of subordinate judges vested with the powers of an Assistant Sessions Judge?

(*g*) Will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the old system, under which the munsifs, before their confirmation, used to be employed from time to time and thrown out of Government service when their officiating appointments ceased, is still being followed in the Judicial Branches of the Bengal Civil Service?

(*h*) Is it not a fact that under the recent reorganization of the service on time scale this system has been abolished and that all the officers, immediately after their first appointments and before confirmation, should be employed as probationers, *i.e.*, as whole-time Government officers; and should draw increment of pay as provided therein?

(*i*) Are the Government considering the desirability of employing all the munsifs who are now on the officiating list as probationers without any further delay?

MEMBER in charge of APPOINTMENT DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) and (*d*) The matter is under consideration.

(*c*) The numbers are as follows:—

(*i*) Thirty-one.

(*ii*) Five.

(*e*) Two junior civilians of between 6 and 8 years' standing were recently appointed, one of whom had already acted as an additional judge before the vacation. Reversions of certain subordinate judges were due to the return of a number of senior judges from leave and deputation.

(*f*) The filling up of certain existing vacancies is at present under consideration.

(*g*) Yes.

(*h*) The system of employment of probationers has not yet been finally sanctioned.

(*i*) The question does not arise at present.

Leadsmen Apprentices.

200. Rai Dr. HARIDHAN DUTT Bahadur: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Marine Department be pleased to state how the leadsmen apprentices for the Port of Calcutta are recruited?

(*b*) Does there exist any racial restriction in the selection of the apprentices?

(*c*) What is the rate of time-scale of pay they receive?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to state—

(*i*) the number of Harbour Masters in employment at present in the Port of Calcutta;

(*ii*) the procedure for their recruitment; and

(*iii*) the rate of payment they receive?

MEMBER in charge of MARINE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Kerr): (*a*) The member is referred to the rules published with this Government notification No. 127 Mne., dated 22nd August, 1921, a copy of which has been placed in the Library.

(*b*) No.

(*c*) The rates of pay at present are as follows:

Leadsmen apprentices, Rs. 107; 2nd Mate leadsman, Rs. 135; 1st Mate leadsman, Rs. 160; 1st Mate leadsman (Passed for Mate Pilot), Rs. 175.

The Government of India have sanctioned increased rates with effect from 1st April, 1922:—

Leadsmen apprentices, Rs. 200; 2nd Mate leadsman, Rs. 250; 1st Mate leadsman, Rs. 300; 1st Mate Leadsman (Passed for Mate Pilot), Rs. 350.

In addition the leadsmen draw 50 per cent. of the leadmoney collected on the ships on which they are employed

(*i*) The sanctioned staff under the Port Commissioners for moving ships in the Port of Calcutta consists of

1 Harbour Master; 1 Deputy Harbour Master; 39 Assistant Harbour Masters; 1 Dock Master; 1 Deputy Dock Master; 1 Assistant Dock Master; and 12 Berthing Masters.

(*ii*) The Harbour Master, Deputy Harbour Master and Dock Master are recruited from the ranks of the Assistant Harbour Masters, who are selected from officers of the Mercantile Marine holding Masters' certificates. These officers serve for a period on probation and are required to pass a departmental examination before being confirmed.

The Deputy and Assistant Dock Masters are intended to be recruited from the ranks of the Berthing Masters who are recruited from men with sea experience, preferably those having a previous knowledge of the working of ships in docks.

(*iii*) The rates of pay are as follows:—

Harbour Master, Rs. 2,000; Deputy Harbour Master, Rs. 1,900; Assistant Harbour Master, Rs. 650—50—1,400 plus night allowance of 25 per cent. of pay; Dock Master, Rs. 1,800; Deputy Dock Master, Rs. 750; Assistant Dock Master, Rs. 750; Berthing Masters, Rs. 400—25—500.

Barisal Zilla School.

210. Maulvi EKRAMUL HUQ: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble the Minister in charge of the Department of Education aware that an inquiry was recently held into the conduct of Babu Kshirode Chandra Sen, head master, Barisal Zilla School, by Mr. Griffith, Inspector of Schools, Dacca Division?

(*b*) If so, will the Hon'ble the Minister be pleased to give in detail a list of the charges, if any, made against the said officer?

(*c*) What was the result of the inquiry?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble the Minister be pleased to lay on the table a copy of the report of Mr. Griffith on the inquiry?

(*e*) Was any inquiry held into the conduct of this officer in 1917 in connection with examinations?

(*f*) If so, what action, if any, was taken thereon?

MINISTER in charge of DEPARTMENT of EDUCATION (the Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) Reference is invited to the answer to (*d*) below.

(*c*) The head master was transferred.

(*d*) A copy of Mr. Griffith's letter No. 1433, dated the 13th May, 1921, is laid on the table.

(*e*) No.

(*f*) Does not arise.

Letter referred to in the reply to clause (d) of unstarred question No. 210.

No. 1433, dated Dacca, the 13th May, 1921

From—W. E. GRIFFITH, ESQ., M.A., Inspector of Schools, Dacca Division,
To—The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal

I have the honour to address you about the action which may be taken to place the Barisal Zilla School on a proper footing.

Complaints have been made about the condition of this school for at least the last two years, and I have had to give decisions on several occasions. Matters, however, have not improved. The Managing Committee, many members of the staff, and many local gentlemen connected with the school are expressing their dissatisfaction at the existing state of affairs. The non-co-operation party, too, are making use of the feeling for their own ends. All the different parties say that the Head Master of the Zilla School is the cause of the trouble.

On the 29th April, almost the whole staff of the school (with the exception of the Head Master) came in a body to see me at the Barisal Circuit House. They complained bitterly of the continuous harsh treatment of the Head Master towards them; and half of them requested transfers on this account. During the same visit to Barisal I met the Managing Committee and many local gentlemen connected with the school and saw the Head Master and the school.

The chief cause of complaint from outside the school is that the Head Master does not stop wrong-doing by certain members of the staff, and the chief causes of complaint from inside the school are that he is autocratic and harsh, and that he keeps all the departments of the school in his own hands. Among many complaints the following are the chief:—

(1) Examination (weekly, terminal and annual) question papers are continually leaking out.

(2) Some members of the staff have more than one private tuition at a time; and pupils are sometimes taken for a month only before a school examination.

(3) Class teachers are upbraided in the presence of the boys.

(4) Undue favouritism is shown towards Babu Jnanendranath Majumdar, a member of the staff.

(5) Teachers have been ordered to give special lessons to the Headmaster's own family.

(6) Although every room has a punkha, no punkha-pullers are employed except for the Head Master's room.

(7) The different school clubs are managed almost solely by the Head Master. The Poor Fund amounts to Rs. 188 and there is a monthly income of Rs. 5-8, yet less than Rs. 3 a month is spent. The annual income to the Sports' Fund is Rs. 600, yet so little is spent that there is a reserve fund of Rs. 2,300. The Librarian has not been allowed to purchase books, and gets no voice in their selection.

The Managing Committee take a very serious view of the situation. They say that the public are losing their confidence in the school, and that its moral tone is on the down grade. The constant leakage of question papers is a special source of irritation, for a number of boys say that they cannot pass the examinations without private tuition, and that they know of an easy way to success. The Committee strongly recommend the transfer of the Head Master to another school.

I have inquired into the complaints, and have, for the time being, placed matters on a more satisfactory footing. With regard to the Head Master, I am of opinion that the charges against him are true; he is certainly autocratic and harsh, and of an unsympathetic nature. You already have full knowledge of trouble in other schools where he has been in charge. On the other hand, he is loyal and is a good disciplinarian, has considerable driving power, and is hardworking. In his case, I do not recommend degradation to the post of an Assistant Head Master, but a transfer to another school and a warning about his future administration.

Arrangements could be made for a transfer of appointments between the Head Masters of the Barisal Zilla School and the Faridpur Zilla School. The Faridpur School is smaller than the Barisal one, and the Head Master of the Faridpur School is willing to go to Barisal. I know his work, and am of opinion that he would be a success at Barisal.

If the exchange is sanctioned, the Faridpur Head Master will get the more difficult post. He will also give up a rent-free (not on the books of the Public Works Department) house at Faridpur, and be required to pay 10 per cent. of his salary for his house (borne on the books of the Public Works Department) at Barisal. He has recently been made a Rai Sahib for his good work. I venture to suggest that he be given special promotion of one grade.

The Managing Committee of the Barisal Zilla School are also desirous of putting an end to the leakage of question papers. They state (and other evidence is available in support of their belief) that the chief wrong-doers in this respect among the staff are the Head Pandit Babu Jnanendranath Majumdar, and Babu Hem Chandra Mukherjee. They ask that these three officers may be transferred elsewhere and that in this way an opportunity may be given to improve the school. They wish to hold regular committee meetings and to give what assistance they can to the school in the matter. I am in agreement with them and recommend that immediate action be taken. The Head Pandit will be deputed to the Dacca Training College from next July, and he can easily be transferred elsewhere at a later date. Babu Jnanendranath Majumdar was recently expelled from the B. A. Examination, and is under suspension. These two officers are not likely, therefore, to attend the school in the near future. In the case of the third officer, Babu Hem Chandra Mukherji, I recommend that an exchange of appointments be made

between him and Maulvi Sheikh Abdur Rauf (Class VIII, Subordinate Educational Service), Assistant Master of the Jamalpur Government High English School.

For facility of reference, I sum up the proposals as follows:—

(i) That an exchange of appointments be sanctioned between the Head Masters of the Barisal and the Faridpur Zilla Schools.

(ii) That a special promotion of one grade be given to the Head Master of the Faridpur Zilla School

(iii) That an exchange of appointments be made between Babu Hem Chandra Mukherji, Assistant Master, Barisal Zilla School, and Maulvi Sheikh Abdur Rauf, Assistant Master, Jamalpur Government High English School.

(iv) That the exchange of appointments proposed in (i) and (iii) above be sanctioned from the end of the Summer Vacation of 1921.

Nature of work given to under-trial prisoners in Patuakhali sub-jail.

211. Maulvi FAZLAL KARIM: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Department of Revenue (Jails) be pleased to state the nature of work which an under-trial prisoner has to do in jail?

(*b*) Does the work required to be done by under-trial prisoners differ in any way from that done by ordinary convicts?

(*c*) Is the Hon'ble the Member aware that in the Patuakhali sub-jail under-trial prisoners alike with other convicts have to carry iron buckets with water from a distance of about one-fourth of a mile to the sub-jail?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to state the weight of an iron bucket when full of water which under-trial prisoners have to carry as aforesaid?

(*e*) Are the Government considering the desirability of providing lighter buckets for the under-trial prisoners to carry water for their use?

MEMBER in charge of DEPARTMENT of REVENUE (JAILS) (the Hon'ble Sir Abd-ur-Rahim): (*a*) and (*b*) The information required will be found in Rule 915 of the Jail Code.

(*c*) Under-trial prisoners are required to carry water on the rare occasions when there are no convicts in the sub-jail. The distance of the reserve tank from the sub-jail is about 300 yards.

(*d*) The weight of a full bucket is 90 seers. These buckets are carried by two men.

(*e*) Yes.

Government Bills.

The Bengal Village-Chaukidari (Amendment) Bill, 1922.

MEMBER in charge of the POLITICAL DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Bengal Village Chaukidari Act of 1870.

This Bill is a very short one, and its intention is to make a change in the law governing the pay of chaukidars. As is doubtless known to the Council, village chaukidars were previously all governed by the provisions of Bengal Act VI of 1870, but when we created union boards under the Act of 1919, we made over to them the chaukidari functions which were previously performed by the old village panchayats; and in the course of so doing we took the opportunity of making a change which had long been advocated. Under the Act of 1870, the maximum pay which can be given to chaukidars is Rs. 6, and the maximum assessment which can be imposed upon any individual is Rs. 12 per annum. Now, it is obvious that a maximum pay of Rs. 6 is not, in modern conditions, adequate, and that fact has often been brought to our attention from many quarters, while at the present moment the utmost discontent prevails among the village watch. Consequently, in the Village Self-Government Act of 1919, we did away with this maximum pay, leaving the pay of the chaukidars to be determined by the District Magistrate, after consideration of the views of the union boards; and consequently in the areas subject to the authority of these union boards a proper pay can be fixed for chaukidars. The proposal of this Bill is to introduce this same system in the areas which are controlled by the old chaukidari panchayats. It is fairly obvious that when the village watch is run on uniform lines throughout the province, there is no object in having one system in one village, because it happens to be under a union board, and another system in an adjoining village because it happens to be under a chaukidari panchayat. That is the intention of the Bill, to introduce provisions analogous to those which exist in the Village Self-Government Act, and consequently it raises the maximum levy of assessment on individuals from Rs. 12 to Rs. 24. The maximum in the Village Self-Government Act is Rs. 84 and in the course of the debate on that Bill, I explained how that figure had been arrived at, namely, taking Rs. 60, which was the old maximum in the old Local Self-Government unions, and Rs. 12 the old maximum of the Village Chaukidari Act—raised to Rs. 24 in accordance with the recommendations of the District Administration Committee, which reported that chaukidars could not be satisfactorily financed as long as the limit of Rs. 12 was maintained. Consequently we have here adopted the same figure of Rs. 2 a month or Rs. 24 per annum.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

The Secretary then read the short title of the Bengal Village-Chaukidari (Amendment) Bill, 1922.

The Bengal Aerial Repeways Bill, 1921.

MINISTER in charge of DEPARTMENT of ACRICULTURE and INDUSTRIES (the Hon'ble the Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, Khan Bahadur): I beg to present the report of the Select Committee on

the Bengal Aerial Ropeways Bill, 1922, and to move that the said report be taken into consideration.

The motion was put and agreed to.

The Hon'ble the Nawab SAIYID NAWAB ALI CHAUDHURI, Khan Bahadur: During the consideration of the Bill by the Select Committee it was brought to their notice that there already exist within the Presidency of Bengal certain privately-owned ropeways, primarily connected with collieries, which are not intended or used for the public carriage of passengers or goods, but for the carriage of materials required in connection with the operations of collieries. It was also stated by those interested in the coal industry that there is a growing necessity for the construction, in the near future, of ropeways fo the purposes of colliery working. It appeared to the Committee that, although the existing and proposed private-owned ropeways may not be required for the public carriage of goods and passengers, it would be in the public interest that they should be brought under Government supervision and control. The Committee are also of opinion that Companies which serve important objects of public utility should be given the facilities offered by the Bill in respect of the construction of aerial ropeways It is recognized that the application of this measure to private Companies would be outside the scope of the present Bill and could not be effected by amendments in Select Committee.

As the amendments and widening of the scope of the Bill would involve a fresh reference to the Government of India and extensive redrafting and as the Committee are of opinion that the proposals relating to private ropeways are of such importance that they cannot be overlooked, it would be best that the present Bill should be withdrawn and be subsequently again laid before this Council in a complete form as a new Bill.

I therefore, Sir, move for the consent of the House to withdraw the Bill.

With the consent of the House the Bill was then withdrawn.

Discussion of the Budget.

Demands for Grants.

5.—Land Revenue.

The Hon'ble the MAHARAJADHIRAJA BAHADUR of BURDWAN: I move that a sum of Rs. 15,000 be transferred from "5.—Land Revenue—Survey and Settlement" to "46—Stationery and Printing" for purchase of press paper for the Nadia Settlement.

The Director of Land Records has reported that press papers to the value of Rs. 15,000 are urgently required by the Settlement Officer of Nadia for printing final records. It is stated that if the purchase is not made now the presses will have to cease work in March, with the result that it will not be possible to do the final publication of the record-of-rights for Block B of the district. The work of the press will also be seriously disorganized. The Director of Land Records is unable to meet the charge out of the sanctioned allotment for the purchase of paper for the Settlement Department. It is proposed to meet the charge out of savings in the grant under the head "Contingencies" in the Settlement budget for 1921-22. To enable this to be done the amount required for the purchase, *viz.*, Rs. 15,000 should be transferred from "5.—Land Revenue—Survey and Settlement" to "46.—Stationery and Printing——Stationery supplied from Central Stores."

The motion was put and agreed to.

7.—Stamps.

MEMBER in charge of DEPARTMENT of FINANCE (the Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Kerr): I move that a sum of Rs. 8,90,000 be granted on account of refunds under Stamps.

As explained in the memorandum which has been circulated to members, this is a purely formal matter. As the Council know, under the Calcutta Improvement Act, we levy a certain surcharge on the stamp duties for credit to the Improvement Trust. Hitherto we have treated this levy on the receipt side as a reduction from the receipts. The Government of India, however, have advised that this course is not proper under the existing financial arrangements and that we should show it not only on the receipt side but also on the expenditure side. The showing of this item on the expenditure side entails a vote of this Council approving the expenditure and it is this vote that I now ask for.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

25.—Jails and Convict Settlements.

MEMBER in charge of JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Abd-ur-Rahim): I move that a sum of Rs. 1,25,000 be granted to meet charges in connection with the opening of temporary jails for non-co-operation prisoners.

The particulars of these charges have been set out in the memorandum which is, I take it, now in the hands of members. I may also mention that so far as one of these temporary jails is concerned, namely, that at Kanchrapara in the district of 24-Parganas it was at first estimated to cost a sum of Rs. 67,000 to build a temporary jail there. This estimate, however, had to be revised in order to make the accommodation

adequate, and it is now estimated that the total cost of building the temporary camp jail will amount to Rs. 1,99,000. The Public Works Department expect to meet this cost by means of reappropriation out of their savings. The sum of Rs. 35,000 is the amount required by the Jail Department for establishment and other charges during the present year. For that amount the vote of the Council is necessary and for this reason I have to move for the grant.

As the memorandum shows, it was proposed to have three jails each providing accommodation for 5,000 prisoners. It has been explained that during the time when the non-co-operation activities were going on in a very intense form, it was felt that it would be necessary to have camp jails in different parts of the Presidency for the accommodation of the political prisoners if large arrests continued. At that time, it may be within the recollection of the Council, arrests were being made of persons who were violating the notifications under the Criminal Procedure Code and also under the Calcutta Police Act, and these arrests were made in large batches and groups of men, sometimes 100 to 200 men were arrested for defying the law. Under these circumstances, it was felt that it was necessary to provide accommodation for these men and that camp jails would have to be set up. A beginning was made at Kanchrapara. So far as the Jail Department is concerned, we explored all other possibilities and we found that the Kanchrapara site was the best that was available for the purpose. As everybody knows, it is about an hour's journey by rail from Calcutta, and the site selected is on high ground and it is reported that although it is not altogether free from malaria, the place is quite dry. Some progress has already been made with the work and it is expected that this camp jail will be finished some time in April. It is the earnest hope of the Government and, as I believe, of every member of this Council—I can say also that it is my very earnest hope—that the Kanchrapara camp jail will not be required for the purpose. But we all know that the political atmosphere is still in a very uncertain and electrical condition. It was only since the Bardoli resolution was passed the other day that there has been a lull in the activities of the non-co-operators, and there have been hardly any arrests at all, so far as I am aware, in the town of Calcutta. If this state of things continues, it is extremely unlikely that we should require the Kanchrapara camp jail for the purpose in view at present. At the same time, it does strike me, as Member in charge of the Jail Department, that we may be able to put that place to other uses of the Jail Department. I shall again refer to that matter later on. That is all I wish to say at present so far as the Kanchrapara camp jail is concerned.

As regards the Kidderpore Jail, I think the Council is already aware that it was opened on the 20th of December last Owing to non-co-operation activities the pressure on the permanent Calcutta jails was becoming so great that it was absolutely necessary to provide a temporary jail. The place at Kidderpore was fixed upon in that emergency. It

was never thought that it was a proper place for a permanent jail. It was taken up for a temporary purpose as it was the best place that we could find for that purpose at the time. Government was fully aware of the defects of the place. The place is not large enough; it consists of two or three large godowns and some open space in front, on the bank of the river Hooghly; the space occupied by the jail is fenced in with barbed wire. In a place like that it is not possible to carry out the provisions of the Jail Code regarding the separation of prisoners, the formation of wards, the employment of prisoners, the enforcement of discipline, the making of proper sanitary arrangements, adequate arrangements for the cooking and distribution of food and all those things which are necessary in a well-appointed jail. These defects the jail authorities have tried to remedy from day to day and I can tell the Council that by this time they have remedied almost all the defects that could be remedied. But, at the same time, owing to want of space and owing to want of a proper place for workshop and other requirements of the Jail Code, it can never be a fit place for keeping prisoners for any length of time. As a matter of fact, most of the prisoners who were kept there were either under-trials or short-term prisoners. At one time there were as many as 1,200 or 1,300 men; but that happened only once. On the average, it may be taken that there have been about 800 or 900 prisoners. At the present moment, I am glad to say that there are only 350 or 360 men, most of whom are likely to be discharged within a very short space of time. Our idea is to close the place as soon as possible. As I have already mentioned, it is not possible to find any work there for the prisoners sentenced to rigorous imprisonment; it is not possible to enforce proper discipline; and it will be very difficult in the hot weather and in the rainy season to make proper sanitary arrangements. Therefore, from almost all points of view this place could not be a suitable place for the detention of prisoners for any length of time. It is proposed to close it as soon as possible, as soon as the prisoners are transferred or discharged. In case, however there be a large number of under-trial prisoners in the future and additional accommodation is required for them, it may then be necessary to utilise this place for their temporary detention; and that is the purpose for which we wish to make use of the place in future if we require it at all.

The accommodation in many of the mufassal jails in the Presidency was also found insufficient, several of those jails were extremely overcrowded, with the result not only that hardship and inconvenience were caused to the prisoners but difficulties arose in providing accommodation for ordinary prisoners. It has been learnt by experience that it is not desirable to keep a large number of political prisoners in the same jail with ordinary convicts; not only from the jail officials' point of view is this undesirable but it is extremely undesirable in the interest of the prisoners themselves that they should be confined in the same jail with other prisoners unless they can be completely separated. We have tried our best to separate the political prisoners as much as possible from the

ordinary convicts with the result however that the political prisoners had to suffer overcrowding.

As regards the jail for female prisoner at Berhampore, the members of this House will bear me out when I say that at one time in Calcutta and that not very long ago, there were a number of ladies connected with the non-co-operation movement actively carrying on that propaganda. There was in consequence not only open violation of the laws but considerable interference with traffic and business. The Government have hitherto refrained from making any arrests of these ladies. I believe there was only one arrest and even then the lady arrested was released after a few hours. I am informed that some of those ladies gave the police the greatest possible provocation and openly defied the law, but the police did their best to avoid arresting them. Since however these ladies have been persisting in their activities it was thought by Government that their hands might be forced and that they might have no option left but to make arrests of some of the ladies who persisted in violating the laws. It was under those circumstances that the Jail Department was warned to be ready to receive prisoners of this class. In the Presidency and the Alipore Central Jails the accommodation for female prisoners is extremely limited and even whatever accommodation there is, it is designed for female prisoners of the ordinary criminal type, and I think everyone will agree that it would not be desirable to keep female prisoners of the class who are carrying on this propaganda, if their arrests became inevitable, under the same conditions or in the same jail as the ordinary prisoners. When, therefore, the Jail Department was asked to find accommodation for these prisoners, they came to the conclusion that the vacant European Ward of the Lunatic Asylum at Berhampore was most suitable for the purpose. My information is that there is good accommodation there with plenty of space which could easily be fitted up for the purpose required. The detailed estimate, if wanted, I am prepared to place before the House. Every possible arrangement has been made to see that no undue hardship is suffered by these ladies. Let us all hope that the precautionary measures that have been taken by Government will obviate the necessity of making such arrests.

I may say in this connection that the measures that were taken to check the illegal activities of the non-co-operators were fully set out in this Council by His Excellency the Governor who explained the position of the Government at some length to the House, and after his speech, the members of this House had an opportunity of discussing the situation. I was present throughout, and so far as I recollect, none of the members took any specific objection to any of the measures that had been adopted by Government. I believe one or two members did suggest that the police should not be allowed a free hand, but beyond that I think there was a general agreement—at least there was no expression of any opinion on the part of any member to the contrary—that these specific measures

announced by His Excellency the Governor were called for by the necessities of this situation. The wisdom of the policy has again been discussed in this Council by the Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler, and I will not therefore again discuss that point. All that I wish to say is this, the necessity for providing these temporary jails directly arose out of the violation of law and order by the non-co-operators.

As regards the Kanchrapara Jail, I ought to point out that there are other possible uses to which this can be put. The Jails Committee in their report have made a number of recommendations, to carry out some of which will require more accommodation, for instance, the separation of the habitual or the star class prisoners from other prisoners, the institution of revising boards for the purpose of revising long-term sentences which will give rise to the need for finding accommodation for probationers. There are also other similar schemes under consideration. All that I wish to assure the House is that so far as this Department is concerned, we will do our best to put this jail to some suitable use.

I now move that the grant asked for be voted by the Council.

Babu INDU BHUSHAN DUTTA: I beg to move that the sum of Rs. 1,25,000 which it is proposed to grant to meet charges in connection with the opening of temporary jails for non-co-operation prisoners, be refused.

I find that some misapprehension has arisen even amongst some members, who are usually of my way of thinking, as to why I have proposed to refuse the whole grant demanded by the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Jails. They have said to me: "Well, this Council has demanded that Government should accord special treatment to the political prisoners, and when the Government comes forward to demand money for according this special treatment, how can you, in all fairness, refuse it?" Sir, this argument appears at first very forcible, and, as I am not an obstructionist, it should have made a strong appeal to me, had there not been another more serious question of constitutional principle involved in this matter. Let us look more closely into this thing; what was the recommendation of this Council regarding political prisoners? This Council practically said that henceforth, for all time, all political prisoners, be they non-co-operators or not, all of them should be treated as first class misdemeanants. This recommendation was extended to all political prisoners, and not merely confined to those non-co-operators who have been convicted under the recent repressive laws. This recommendation was not an emergent measure, but was meant for all time to come, it was a permanent recommendation following the practice adopted in all civilised countries. This will be clear when I say that my friend Dr. J. N. Moitra, who had a resolution dealing specially with the non-co-operation prisoners, withdrew his resolution on the ground that as the Council has recommended the release of all these prisoners, there was no justification in moving his resolution. That is the real crux of the position. There is the real

question of constitutional principle involved. The Hon'ble Member wants this money, not as a permanent demand for the relief of all political prisoners, but as a demand for meeting an extraordinary situation, for dealing with those non-co-operation prisoners, who have recently been convicted under the repressive laws. The recommendation of this Council regarding these prisoners is perfectly clear—they must be set at liberty. This is the recommendation, which this Council has adopted by a large majority in this very sessions. Is the Council now going to eat its own words, is the Council willing to go back on its own vote in the same sessions? This Council's demand was, "let these prisoners be set free." What has the Government done about this matter? They have not only set at naught the decision of the Council by not liberating the prisoners, but they have come forward to-day to demand money to continue to keep these prisoners in jail. Is this attitude to be tolerated? Will this Council remain content by passing a pious resolution for their liberation, and then, when the time for action comes, when the real issue is brought forward, when the Council has an opportunity to show that it has the power to support its own resolution by refusing this demand, will this Council turn tail and supply the money with folded hands to help the Government to continue to keep these men in jail? Is there no such thing as self-respect, dignity and strength when this Council has to insist on its voice being heard? Is this Council going to repeat the same somersault by which it condemned the repressive measures and yet granted money for giving effect to the repressive measures? If this is going to be the attitude to-day, is there any wonder that our resolutions are not given effect to? Is there any wonder that an erstwhile member like Sir Robert Watson-Smyth dares to have the audacity to criticise the actions of this Council with an arrogant pretension to superior wisdom? Sir, I appeal with folded hands to all those members of this Council, who supported us in demanding the release of these prisoners to remember the adage: "*marad ke bat, hathee ka dat*" (A man's word is like the elephant's tusk; once out, it does not go back). When the time for action has come, let them not be moved by sophistries and calculations, let them give emphasis to their own opinion by refusing this grant. Sir, I have heard from a reliable source that the Bihar jails are empty of non-co-operation prisoners, and yet Bihar was the place where non-co-operation had a stronger hold than in Bengal. Has revolution come into Bihar, because this class of prisoners has been set free? If the Government, in view of their responsibility to the British Parliament, cannot release these prisoners, let them restore these grants; we, as a Council, cannot go back on our word, we cannot take the responsibility of keeping them in jail.

When we remember that men like Messrs. C. R. Das, Subhas Chandra Bose, and B. N. Sasmal are being kept in jail, in spite of our recommendation to set them free, can we patiently think of supplying money for continuing to keep them and their followers in jail? Perhaps it is not

unknown to members of this Council, that Mr. C. R. Das has issued a statement criticising the judgment delivered on him. He is the greatest criminal lawyer in Bengal; he has declared that his conviction has been illegal and he has challenged the Government with the charge that they do not hesitate to break the law when it suits their purpose.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT (Babu Surendra Nath Ray): I do not think you can go into those details and criticise the judgment.

Babu INDU BHUSHAN DUTTA: I am not criticising the judgment. What has Government done to meet this charge? Is it any wonder if the public think that Mr. Das has been illegally convicted? Is this Council going to provide money to keep prisoners, whose conviction has been thus openly challenged? We hear that Government is going to open a new jail at Kanchrapara. Sir, I do not know who advised the Government to select this site. But, if I had been in his confidence, I should have said that, from the Government point of view, Kanchrapara is the last place that they ought to have chosen. There are more than 15,000 workmen in Kanchrapara, and Government is going to place the non-co-operation prisoners in their midst. There have already been strikes in Kanchrapara; if there is another strike there again, I suppose, my friend, Mr. Krishna Chandra Ray Chaudhuri with the support of the Government will get up in this Council and say, "Look, there are the non-co-operators fostering a political strike."

Mr. KRISHNA CHANDRA RAY CHAUDHURI: I never hinted that the non-co-operators are behind the strikers.

The DEPUTY PRESIDENT: Order! Order!

Babu INDU BHUSHAN DUTTA: If he has not, then I am sorry. But I was under the impression that he had said something like it in moving his resolution about political strikes.

Then, Sir, there is the provision for a jail for women. I must confess I cannot regard this awful proposal with equanimity. It takes my breath away. My tongue cannot utter the thoughts that arise in my mind; I will only say this.

Has the Government come to such a sorry pass that they cannot tolerate even half-a-dozen ladies taking part in politics that they must keep our ladies in jail? Is it not enough to take away hundreds of our young men, that you should encroach on the gentler sex also? Where is my friend Mr. S. M. Bose, the champion of the ladies now? Why do I not see any motion for refusal of this grant in his name? This Council has refused to give the votes to women, has refused to recognise them as equal to men, is this Council going to open the gates of the jail for them? Time was, when a million voices of protest would have been raised against even the idea of such an intolerable proposal, but the age of chivalry is

gone, that of sophistry, and of calculators, has succeeded. But even in these degenerate days, shall I not find 50 voices of protest against this preposterous demand?

Babu KISHORI MOHAN CHAUDHURI: I move that the sum of Rs. 1,25,000 which it is proposed to grant to meet charges in connection with the opening of temporary jails for non-co-operation prisoners, be refused.

When I gave notice of this amendment, I did it with full responsibility, knowing that it was a reserved subject, and as such whatever we might do here, it might be restored by the Governor's certificate: but still I thought it necessary that we should raise a voice of protest against it. The other day we passed a resolution in this Council that the non-co-operation prisoners should be set at liberty, and I fail to understand with what face we can now sanction the grant for accommodating these prisoners. The non-co-operation movement owes its origin to the inadequacy of Reforms. The situation is now calm and we expected that Government should take this opportunity of considering the grievances of the people. The Reforms have been condemned in several quarters as quite inadequate and not to the benefit of the people We thought that Government would take the opportunity to reconsider the situation and silence the non-co-operation movement by granting adequate relief. But, unfortunately, instead of taking that course Government are now bent upon preparing accommodation for 15 or 16 thousand prisoners and moreover for some lady prisoners for joining this non-co-operation movement. I do not know if non-co-operation is an offence. If it is really an offence, I do not know whether the persons who were engaged for the last 30 or 35 years in the Congress platform in criticising Government action and asking for relief only in a different way were not equally guilty. As long as non-co-operation is not offensive in any way, I think one cannot be sent to jail simply because he discusses certain principles for political freedom. In this view, we think that non-co-operation should not in itself be a charge, and if anyone is to be sent to jail, he must be first tried under the Indian Penal Code. I do not know if some of the members of this Council may not be termed as non-co-operators. However that may be, we cannot with any consistency support the proposal that jails should be provided for accommodating non-co-operation prisoners. In this proposal there is no distinction made as to how much of the money has already been spent and how much more is to be spent, and so without knowing that, it was necessary for us to raise objection to the whole amount. My friend has discussed the situation at length, and it is not necessary for me to add any words of mine to the arguments already advanced. But this much I can say that it is high time that we should raise our voice against the procedure now sought to be adopted. If there is any revolutionary tendency it will be a case not of 15 or 16 thousand people, but it will be a case of more people.

I do not know what might be the number, but if any accommodation is necessary, Government can accommodate many people in the vacant houses erected for the partition of the Midnapore district. I fail to understand why any arrangement should be made in the district of Nadia which is known to be a malarious place. At any rate we cannot accept the situation and we cannot be a party to the policy of sending any member of the non-co-operation party to jail, simply because they persuade people not to co-operate with Government without any violence on their part.

Mr. D. C. GHOSE: Has anybody suggested that?

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: Order! order! Please do not interrupt.

Babu KISHORI MOHAN CHAUDHURI: Non-co-operation prisoner is a new thing—a new nomenclature in the Penal Code. It is only the offenders who can be punished and sent to jail, and if any violence is adopted, if there be any disorder in maintaining peace and order, then whatever action is thought necessary may be taken. In this Council we supported a proposal that something ought to be done for maintaining law and order, subsequently we were taken to task for raising any objection on the ground that by supporting that motion we really supported the proposal for sending any number of persons to jail without any trial or without any adequate inquiry. So we cannot be a party to this, and it is, I say again, high time that we should protest against the policy which is sought to be adopted and reject the grant. If necessary, it can be restored by the Governor's certificate, but in no circumstances can we be a party to this iniquity. With these remarks, I beg to commend my motion for the acceptance of the Council.

Kumar SHIB SHEKHARESWAR RAY: I move that the sum be reduced by Rs. 22,000 being the amount required for the temporary jail for female non-co-operation prisoners. When such demands are made and our assent is sought in the Council, with the express object of nullifying one of our own recommendations, to make us eat the humble pie, we know not what words would be adequate enough for expressing our disapprobation.

We have passed a resolution recommending release of the non-co-operator prisoners. And in direct contravention of that the Government now wants money for jails to keep those very non-co-operators, and more of them and women too, inside the jails. If we grant this demand it would only imply that we supply the very means of rejecting our recommendation. We shall be branded—before our countrymen, before the civilised world—as mere milksops, swayed by the prevailing gusts, exemplars of political indecision.

It is a grave thing that confronts us. We, this legislative body, are to guide the destinies of our nation at one of its most critical times.

Passions are now high, prejudices are keen and partisanship obscures our vision. It has been found for once that jails have no terror or stigma, and people flock to overflow them. So now, we must have more jails that they cannot be overflowed. But what would then be the effect on the people? The ideal and the sentiments are there. Would these new jails dam that torrent, or would not that torrent much rather cut for itself a new course? Let us pause to think. Let us be statesmen and not empiricists, chewing the thrice-chewed cud of the bureaucrats.

This very demand shows that our country is entering into a new phase of the struggle. Till very recently our women had kept apart from politics. But now they are beginning to take interest in them. Even Lord Northchiffe had stated to the Reuter's Agency, in Bombay, on the 21st of January: "A distinguished loyal Muhammadan, a judge, who was educated at Oxford, said to me—'The most dangerous sign is that our women are now becoming infected with the anti-British poison, and all students of Islam know what that means.' I deeply deplore the developments of this phase. As our society now stands, and from the position that our women occupy in it, I am opposed to their active participation in politics. I believe that in this dust and din of political life, in its rough and tumble, in its inevitable hustle and consequent brutality, women should not come in. I condemn their introduction, for I feel that if they once precipitate themselves into this mire, they cannot be kept free from insult. And I grieve over this exploitation of their finer feelings, their sentiments and sympathy in such political squabbles.

But, Sir, although I deeply deplore all these, I am still more afraid that proposed Government measures will not stem the tide, rather they will add an impetus. A jail is now being furnished for the reception of misguided female non-co-operators. And if once a jail is ready, and women are actually put there for their political opinions, we shall soon find quite a decent number of them filling up the jails. Let the Government remember that this very idea of possibility of putting into jail women for their political opinions, for no crime worth the name, has got a deeply sinister influence. Even such arrest of a woman, let alone her imprisonment, would be inflammatory to a degree. In human history you will find that it is woman who infuses ardour and enthusiasm in all ideals, and for which one woman suffers once, ten men will be found, gladly, to suffer ten times. People admire a man's sacrifice and sufferings, but a woman's sacrifice maddens them. Let the Government beware that by its rash unthinking policy, it is inviting a repetition of the Joan-de-Arc episode, it is testing whether the same fire, which burnt of yore in the hearts of Rajput women, still lingers in the women of our own days, and is tempting the men of the country to show whether they still deserve to call themselves "protectors of their women." Sir, you are placing the whole populace, both classes and masses, on the most explosive magazine. Beware when the spark comes from a woman, the whole country will burst out in flames.

We feel that is now our duty to define our position here. What are we? We form a part and parcel of the Government, which we are trying to shape and mould, whose actions we seek to guide by the consent of the people, however much we might dislike its present form and conscious though we are of its various defects. We know the unsatisfactory nature of the Reforms, a mere half-way house; but knowing also that such half-way houses have some purpose to serve, we have associated ourselves with the Reformed Council. Just as we are not non-co-operators, so we disdain to be parasites. We refuse to see eye to eye with those who have been brought up in the traditions of the old régime, who had been imbued with the idea that the Government is a foreign body superimposed to govern a voiceless people. The very existence of a Reformed Councillor here is meant to break this enchantment of an old world tradition. We are here to voice the people, to guard their interests, to speak out boldly without fear of frown or hope of favour. Sir, we are not expected to be a body of sycophants, bending and bowing to those with whom the power now rests.

No doubt we are political opponents to the non-co-operators, just as we are political opponents to the champions of what has been termed "old, wooden, antidiluvian form of Government." And as long as all these political parties confine themselves to moral suasion and do not commit acts of violence, I could not even dream of checking the activities of these various parties by ingeniously inventing new crimes.

Non-co-operation is not a new thing, though its non-violent form is rather new. It is the European community which had first given an exhibition to us of non-co-operator, though not non-violent. Buckland, in his "Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governor," informs us:—

The Governor-General, the Marquis of Ripon was personally insulted at the gate of the Government House on his return to Calcutta for the cold weather of 1883-84 A conspiracy had been formed by a number of men in Calcutta, who had bound themselves in the event of Government adhering to their projected legislation, the Ilbert Bill, to overpower the sentries at Government House, put the Viceroy on board a steamer at Chandpal Ghat, and send him to England *viâ* the Cape The existence of this conspiracy was known to the Lieutenant-Governor and to the responsible officer who subsequently gave me this information. The non-official European community absented themselves with hardly an exception from the entertainments at Government House.

So the European community at that time not only non-co-operated with the Government, but had entered into a treasonable conspiracy and had openly insulted the Viceroy. Sir, allow me to quote a passage from the *Indian Chronicle* of those days to show to what lengths the European community had then gone:—

Meetings were held everywhere, indignant protests were sent up. Mr. Ilbert was burnt in effigy and Lord Ripon was cursed and execrated like a dog ——.

The Hon'ble Sir HENRY WHEELER: May I rise to a point of order, Sir? Are the lines of argument taken by the Kumar in any sense relevant to the question before the Council?

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: I think the hon'ble Kumar need not go into all these details as they have got nothing to do with the subject-matter.

Kumar SHIB SHEKHARESWAR RAY: I submit to your ruling, Sir. The relevancy however is this that they too were non-co-operators only with this distinction that they were Europeans and the non-co-operators of to-day are only Indians, and I wanted to show how they were treated, it is therefore that I wanted to quote these passages at some length, for people's memory is short, and some try to pillory others for things falling far short of what they themselves had done. Was any special ordinance passed to declare the European Association illegal? Were the members of that conspiring body sentenced to terms of imprisonment or were they even put under arrest? Were Mr. Branson's meetings dispersed by Police with *lathies*? Were lunatic asylums converted into jails to accommodate hysterical European women? Was the paper, the *Englishman* of those days, the worst criminal in this respect, prosecuted and its press forfeited? And although some of the acts committed clearly fell within the ordinary provision of law, *viz.*, the Indian Penal Code, no official action was taken against them, nor did those much vilified Indians incite the Government to take steps against these treasonable intimidations. And why, because they recognise that that was surely a phase of political opposition, the wild attempts of a frantic body to preserve their supposed rights and privileges

It is no use saying that when people infringe the laws, law must take its course, and lodge them in prisons. For what is law? Can a mere ukase of the head of a State make and unmake a law? Is law a mere pyramid on a point? Ours is a legislative body and we by a majority have pressed for a repeal of these repressive measures, which we have not even deigned to call laws. It is a distinct mandate from a body which alone has the power to make and unmake laws, and if we cannot make the Government obey us, if the Government continues flouting us, the blame lies not with us, but with the Government and the Reforms which authorise such irresponsibility. And, Sir, such conduct on the part of the Government only proves the impotency of the Reforms, and swells the ranks of non-co-operators.

But, Sir, insult our intelligence, doubt our sanity, give us, in the words of Sir Robert Watson-Smyth, "the order of the boot" as much as you like, ignore our existence, but we must not budge an inch from what we consider our path of duty.

Our duty is to warn the Government and we do warn the Government once again that the Government in deciding to incarcerate women is placing itself on a slippery, sloping hillside, whence a false step or even the momentum itself would lead to unfathomable depths and danger.

Babu SURENDRA NATH MALLIK: It is, to my mind, adding insult to injury to call upon us to vote this demand. We requested the

Government only a few days ago to release these prisoners. They did not care to say one word about that, but they now come to us and say, "give us this money to retain these prisoners for a long time." It is, as I have said, adding insult to injury. Those to whom my motherland has given a just cause to be grateful, those who have fattened on my motherland's wealth—those very men are asking to give us this money. I must make it clear. This is a matter of demand What is this demand? Are we to understand that they will not build jails if we do not give them the money. No—they will do it any how. Why then should we grant this money? This demand—I repeat again is nothing but adding insult to injury. We should never do it. I quite realise the fact that they are my own countrymen and their sufferings particularly in the Kidderpore Jail which I have seen are very great and that they live there under conditions which are extremely undesirable We have seen that ourselves. If by giving our vote and by passing this motion we are sure that their sufferings will cease, the matter should then be put, but I am sure they will disregard all our recommendations in this matter. They are sure to build the jail whether we vote for it or not We are not children here. Why should you ask from us money to build jails for? Do you listen to our views, our suggestions? No you disregard everything. Why then come to us and ask for money? Do build your jails by all means. You are a mighty Government—you can do anything you like—you can play ducks and drakes with our money. But why do you come and ask us to help you? It is no use saying that because they are suffering in the jail you want more money to build jails. That is your duty to see You have put them in jail and it is your duty that they are kept in comfort Do not come with this sham business before us and ask us for money.

There is another matter to which I would draw attention. There is a question—a peculiar question—which has been raised by some of my friends as to whether these non-co-operating people should be put in jail or not. I do not think that I need discuss that question now. I will not for a moment attempt to decide whether these non-co-operating people are right or whether they are wrong. God alone knows whether they are wrong. History will decide—posterity will judge whether they are wrong. It is not for me to say so. I leave that out for the present. That is not the question at issue. The question is whether you should make us agree to this grant and our answer is that you should not and you are not going to do that. We would refuse the grant. Do whatever you like, you have got ample powers.

There is another matter—the question of building jails for women. It is a most preposterous claim. Has anybody heard of such a claim being put forward? Do you want to go so far as to build jails in anticipation of dragging our womenfolk there and ask us for money to build

that jail? Sir, we may be a subject-race. We may have gone down very much, but we are not going to give money for jail accommodation for our mothers, our sisters and daughters. If you will do it, you must do in spite of us, but do not insult us by asking money to put our own mothers, sisters and daughters to jail. I claim you have no right to do that. If you are to build jails for them, do it by all means, but I would ask you not to insult us in this way. Even though we belong to a subject race you have no right to insult us in this way. Then Sir Abd-ur-Rahim has said that the accommodation in the Presidency Jail is not good enough for ladies and that we should provide good accommodation for them in the Berhampore Jail. This reminds me of a story. The *Karta* of a house was awakened in the dead of night by a noise that his sons—grown-up sons—are hammering a thief. The old man was 85 and very pious and he was shocked at the sight. He asked his children to desist from beating the thief. The children asked, "what are we to do with him then?" The old man, as I have said, was very pious, said, "do not beat him but put him in a sack and give him a ducking." The thief very much appreciated the kindness and said, "Thou art kindness incarnate indeed" We appreciate your kindness very much. You are so much anxious for our ladies that you want to build a good jail for them Because some of our ladies have gone into Barabazar and asked some people not to buy foreign goods or held some meetings in the town, you are going to build jails in anticipation at Berhampore. Why should not the Government provide for other things for themselves with the money? Why not build a larger asylum for themselves at Berhampore? Why should not Government build for themselves better accommodation in the lunatic asylum at Berhampore? Sir, it is indeed a most preposterous claim. You want to put our women in jail and you want us to give you money for them. I whole-heartedly oppose this motion You thought it fit to bring it in this way instead of the resolution which we have passed here only a few days ago, you have brought this motion in total disregard to that resolution. I do hope that Government will not go on insulting us in this way.

Dr. HASSAN SUHRAWARDY: I rise to support the amendment of Babu Indu Bhushan Dutta though not exactly for the reasons given by him a few minutes ago. I feel I must, at the outset, let you know Sir, that I do not think I am second to any one in my appreciation of the efforts of the Hon'ble Sir Abd-ur-Rahim to introduce Reforms in the jail administration. I, however, feel it my duty to criticise the department which he is now presiding over. We judge by what we find, as outsiders; the details of what are done within are only known to the officials. Measures, and not man, is the aim of my remarks and criticism. We have certain grievances against the Judicial and Jail Departments, and I am constrained to oppose this demand on certain definite grounds. I find it is not a demand for providing the few

comforts which this Council recommended the other day to be extended to the political prisoners in this province. The House would have gladly voted any reasonable demand if the money was required to give effect to the resolutions of this Council.

What we find and resent is that we might pass resolutions, and they may be carried by an overwhelming majority, they may be an unmistakable index of popular demand and needs of the country, but Government need not give any consideration to them, if they so please. If Government is going to show scant courtesy to the wishes of the people and the Council, we, as elected representatives of the people, protest against such treatment and refuse to vote this grant for a department that has shown discourtesy to this Council. I shall mention, Sir, how this has been done.

It is not so very long that this Council passed a resolution for cessation of work for only one hour and a half to enable the Muhammadans to say their *Jumma* prayers on Fridays. The time incidentally very nearly corresponded with the luncheon time during which all courts and offices may adjourn with the minimum trouble and loss. But Government has shown a supreme disregard to our recommendations although, Hindus, Christians and Muhammadans, in fact all the non-official members of this Council, supported this resolution. The request has been turned down. I had a talk with an eminent European Judge of the High Court and he told me that "it was possible that the Judges of the High Court will not mind having a light breakfast on Fridays and take an early lunch to satisfy the religious needs of the Muhammadans." I do not know in what manner this matter was put up by Government before the High Court, or whether it was ever put up at all. In answer

The Hon'ble Sir ABD-UR-RAHIM: That point does not rise.

Dr. HASSAN SUHRAWARDY: In answer to unstarred question No. 176 asked by Maulvi Fazlal Karim on the 20th February, that is only 10 days ago, the Hon'ble Sir Abd-ur-Rahim said: "The Government orders afford adequate facilities to the Muhammadans to attend courts and offices, to say their *Jumma* prayers." No light has been thrown whether it is the old Government order or anything new has been done.

The Hon'ble Sir HENRY WHEELER: Is this relevant, Sir?

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: What has that got to do with the present question?

Dr. HASSAN SUHRAWARDY: I am pointing out that the resolutions passed in this Council are not given effect to by the Government, and they do whatever they please. We have got a

grievance against the Judicial and Jail Departments and, as an example, I am pointing out that a resolution passed by a majority of the Council which is an index of popular demand and therefore should be put into effect, has not been taken any notice of by Government.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: I think it is irrelevant to the question now before the Council. You should not discuss matters which are not before the Council.

Dr. HASSAN SUHRAWARDY: If you think it is irrelevant, I will not say anything.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: I think it is irrelevant.

Dr. HASSAN SUHRAWARDY: Very well, Sir.

Another example of the apathy of the Judicial and Jail Departments is the manner in which resolutions passed

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: That again is irrelevant. You cannot refer to this.

Dr. HASSAN SUHRAWARDY: Sir, you have not yet heard what I am going to refer to.

Is the subject of the treatment of prisoners in jails irrelevant? I am referring to a resolution passed by this Council recommending the treatment of political prisoners like misdemeanants of the first division as in England, but nothing has been done so far, nor any promise given as to what should be done in the near future. A demand of Rs. 1,25,000 is sprung upon us for the construction and opening of temporary jails and more demands are in store. We heard of rumours about this demand and that money would be asked for from this Council for building a Jail at Kanchrapara I think it was my friend Babu Surendra Nath Mallik who first drew our attention to this fact. No *communiqué* was issued by Government as to why this particular place was selected as the most suitable place for building a jail for the accommodation of this special class of prisoners, called political prisoners. The matter was not put before the public nor were the members of this Council taken into confidence and no opinion was elicited regarding *pros* and *cons* of this very important matter. The environments of a jail of this kind concern the health and life of a large number of the male and female population of Bengal who are imprisoned there not because they are thieves or swindlers, murderers or cut-throats, but on account of certain political principles which rightly or wrongly they adhere to.

All I know of Kanchrapara is this: that land is cheap and that the word "kanchra" in vernacular means dirty, filthy, and also rubbish and "para" means locality. Why dump the poor political prisoners of Bengal into this dirty, filthy locality? Could not Government choose a

better and a more salubrious place than Kanchrapara? We have not much faith in the methods of the Jail Department; startling disclosures have been made of what is going on within the high walls of the Jails. In answer to unstarred question No. 109 asked by Nawabzada Khwajeh Muhammad Afzal, Khan Bahadur, the Hon'ble Sir Abd-ur-Rahim, Member in charge of the Jail Department, admitted on the 21st November, 1921, that dead bodies of both Hindu and Muhammadan prisoners, were removed by trolleys, which at other times were used for removing night soil tubs. This desecration of dead bodies does not stand to the credit of a Government which is based on a highly developed Western system. Respect for the dead, even of the body of a fallen enemy

The Hon'ble Sir HENRY WHEELER: I would ask that the debate be confined to the point which is under consideration.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: You are here discussing the jail administration and, Sir Abd-ur-Rahim is not on his trial. You cannot criticise the jail administration here. The question here is the demand for a grant of Rs. 1,25,000 for the construction of jails.

Dr. HASSAN SUHRAWARDY: May I not say that I do not agree to vote for the demand because the jail administration is rotten or to put it more correctly because it has got certain defects? Am I not in order if I give my reasons however foolish and unsound they may be, for refusing to vote for this demand? Startling disclosures have been made of what is going on within the high walls of the jails, specially in places which are far away from the metropolis and the centre of public opinion, or are not easily accessible to the public. These are the reasons why I ask that the demand be refused.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: In a supplementary grant you cannot discuss the whole administration.

Dr. HASSAN SUHRAWARDY: I bow to your ruling. I have given some of my reasons why I refuse to vote for the grant for building a jail at Kanchrapara. Another point is because I find that land is available around Calcutta—cheap and fairly healthy land: my constructive suggestion is this: land is available at Ballygunge, Tollygunge, Matiabruz, Garden Reach—places which are associated with the political prisoners of the Royal houses of Mysore and Oudh. There are palaces in these places crumbling into ruins; why does not Government rent or acquire them cheaply and put the political prisoners in them? It is much less expensive than building a new jail for them at Kanchrapara. Great misgivings have arisen in the minds of the non-official members of this Council by the action of Government through the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Jail Department, in refusing the resolution put by Dr. J. N. Moitra, that every non-official member of the Council should have the privilege of visiting a jail whether temporary or permanent and of

paying surprise visits. The idea has taken hold of the public mind that Government are afraid or hostile to criticism, that they do not like surprise visits to be paid, and that it is for this reason that they are removing the prisoners from the environments of Calcutta to a far away place like Kanchrapara, which means dirty and filthy locality These are the reasons and misgivings that are exercising the minds of the public now.

Another suggestion of mine is this. We have read that two gun-boats are to be placed in the Indian waters; why cannot Government charter them or acquire them and put the political prisoners in them? No capital expenditure will be required for that, no high walls or barbed wire fencing are required to ensure safety against escape. As a matter of fact they are not required on land either and the Hon'ble Sir Abd-ur-Rahim, the other day, informed us that the non-co-operation political prisoners refused to leave the jails even after the termination of their terms of imprisonment, therefore, it is obvious that before their term of imprisonment is over they are safe and are not going to run away from the jail, or abscond. If the Government requisition these gun-boats each one of them having a capacity of 1,500 souls, they may be placed near Diamond Harbour or down the Hooghly anywhere and there will be no difficulty about water-supply and conservancy arrangements, which are so inadequate and bad at Kidderpore. The mother Ganges would be their watch and ward, and she will carry on the conservancy duties. That would be a cheap arrangement Government have not thought it necessary even though a man like the Hon'ble Sir Abd-ur-Rahim, is in charge of the Jail Department, who is not a much abused bureaucrat. He is not a sun-dried bureaucrat, though he belongs to the reserved side of Government which is otherwise known as the bureaucratic side of Government. The Persian proverb, namely, "*Bahar chiz ki dar kan-e-namak raft namak shud*" (whatever things go to the salt mine becomes salt), is not true of Sir Abd-ur-Rahim. We feel sure that Sir Abd-ur-Rahim will never become a sun-dried bureaucrat, that he will never become a salt impregnated pickled specimen of it. I know he will never become that. This is not his aspiration' Government, I feel, ought to have consulted public opinion; they ought to have consulted the opinion of the members of this Council Because they have not done so, we raise this objection to the construction of a jail at Kanchrapara. Things have been done without the knowledge of the members of the Council or of the public. Why now come to us for money? Why ask us to vote for it? There is an old English saying "He who pays for the piper calls for the tune." Government on the reserved side have called for the tune, so let them pay the piper. Government should not ask us to vote for what they have spent, and we should refuse to vote for it.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi WASIMUDDIN AHMED: I am quite unable to follow the logic that has been advanced by the movers of the amendment as well as the speakers who have followed them. Only the other

day this Council passed a resolution urging on Sir Abd-ur-Rahim that better accommodation should be provided and better sanitary arrangements should be made for the political prisoners, and then the Hon'ble Member has thought out that a separate building, a separate house, should be built for these gentlemen and for this purpose he requires a certain amount of money. Under the law he is bound to put before the Council a demand for it; and the Council is at liberty either to grant it or to refuse it, but where is the ground for thinking that by presenting this demand he is adding insult to injury? Because under the law he is bound to put his demand before the Council, that does not expose him to the charge of adding insult to injury. He has done nothing but his duty. If he did not ask the Council for this demand then to-morrow a hue and cry would be raised that Government went so far as not to come to ask the Council for the demand. That would be quite illegal.

One thing which pains me most is that the Council debates have lost their dignity and have become, as Burke says, a bear-garden and the Council has been indulging in the scurrilities of the bear-garden. When we come to the Council we should come as Councillors; we should leave aside our private animosity, our private grudge and forgive and forget our personal matters.

Then what are we discussing? Are we discussing whether Government should accept a resolution asking them to let off all the political prisoners? This Council has already passed a resolution asking Government to let off political prisoners and it lies with the Government either to accept it or to refuse it. It has nothing to do with the present matter. If Government do not accept the resolution and do not let off the political prisoners, then they must be accommodated. Babu Surendra Nath Mallik who so loudly opposed the grant to-day was complaining only the other day that the prisoners in the Kidderpore Jail were living in shelves and they are exposed to the risk of falling down and thus losing their limbs. Does he not want that both accommodation and sanitary arrangements should be provided for them? Does he want that His Excellency the Governor should vacate his palace in order to make room for the political prisoners or something should be done somewhere else? You admit the necessity for better accommodation but when it comes to finding money for it, you refuse! My friend again has said, "Are we to make room, are we to grant money for the accommodation of our daughters and wives in Jails?" If you allow them to go out picketing in the Burra Bazar, to go into the open market and expose themselves to indignities, you should not grumble when they are put into jail. They should be placed in safe custody.

Babu Indu Bhushan Dutta has complained that the days of chivalry are gone and ten thousand swords are not unsheathed to avenge a look at our females. I am sorry I cannot ascertain whether the days of chivalry are gone or whether chivalry in India has diminished or increased, but one thing is certain that India is losing solicitude and

anxiety for the safety, honour and modesty of her females. It is customary both among the Hindus and Muhammadans, nay for the Indians, the orientals, to make arrangements and take all possible steps for the protection of the honour of their females, so that no one might offer any indignity or insult to them. For that purpose they have introduced the *purdah* system; they never allowed their womenfolk to go out alone to incur a look for which Mr. Dutt would like to be avenged. It pains me very much to find that Indian gentlemen have thought it fit to allow their sisters, wives and daughters to go into the Burra Bazar amid a throng of people of many classes and to mix freely among them and expose themselves to public insult and indignities.

If Government do not think it desirable to desist from arresting ladies, suitable accommodation is to be provided for them. I think it is the duty of the Council to enable the Government to discharge its obligation and vote solid for the grant demanded by Sir Abd-ur-Rahim.

After all, we can expect that Government should desist from arresting political prisoners? After the publication of the Bardoli resolution the situation improved to a certain extent, but Mahatma Gandhi has followed the advice of Burke who said that "those who would lead should sometimes follow" and I find that Mahatma Gandhi has followed his followers by giving up his whole idea that these things should not be done, that civil disobedience should be stopped and picketing should be confined to a few. But at the Delhi Conference he has given up his idea and followed his followers.

Sir, if we go on in this fashion, how can the Government desist from taking action? There are gentlemen, Sir, who are taking a very superficial view of the whole situation. They are picketing foreign goods, well and good. If you can make your own clothes, do it by all means, drive away foreign goods but what is the method taken to do so?

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: You cannot discuss such questions. They are irrelevant.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi WASIMUDDIN AHMED: I do not want to say more. With these remarks, I oppose the amendments moved.

The Hon'ble Sir HENRY WHEELER: This is a departmental grant, and since it has been adequately and fully explained by my friend, Sir Abd-ur-Rahim, I should ordinarily have been content to refrain from taking part in the debate, but with the exception of the very sensible speech to which we have just listened, such a determined effort has been made to cloud the issues which arise in connection with this motion and to mislead the Council as to the reasons for opposing it, that I think it is worth while interposing a few remarks in order to try and emphasise what the real and relevant facts are.

Cannot we get rid for even a short space of time of this vehement denunciation and this incessant appeal to race and religious prejudice

which is rapidly reducing to despair everybody who has at heart the true interests of this Council in its legitimate and prosperous development, and is rapidly rendering impossible a dispassionate discussion of any subject connected with the administration? What is the proposition before us? That money should be granted for the construction of certain jails. And what are the reasons upon which that proposition is based? It is known to all as a fact that circumstances have arisen in recent times which have necessitated the sudden arrest of a considerable body of men. It is well known to all, and it is again a fact, that owing to this sudden influx to our jails the accommodation provided therein has been unduly strained, and complaints and criticisms have been made of hardships to which the prisoners have been subjected. These two facts being so, the proposition is that provision should be made to guard against such a contingency should it occur again, and is it or is it not a fact that in the present political atmosphere, and with the avowed intentions of those who are seeking to disturb law and order, the contingency of making frequent arrests may arise again? If so, is it not wise and prudent on the part of the Jail Department to make provision ahead in case that contingency should arise, so that they may not be again attacked on the grounds to which the suddenness of the recent emergency exposed them? These are the simple issues underlying the proposition that is before the Council, and what are the arguments which it has been sought to bring forward as grounds for refusing this request?

Babu Indu Bhushan Dutta's first argument is that he will not vote for this grant because it does not cover a recent resolution recommending the better treatment of prisoners described as political. Is this in any sense relevant to the present proposal? Is it in any way going to make the lot of political prisoners in jail better to deprive them of the accommodation which can be provided if this grant is allowed? The argument is in fact entirely irrelevant to the merits which really govern the question.

Secondly, we have the argument that this grant is to be refused because in a recent resolution of this Council it was proposed that certain so-called political prisoners should be released, which has not yet been done in full. I have previously given figures to the Council showing, in connection with political prisoners, so-called, that Government has exhibited clemency even to the point of its being abused, but it is correct that we have not yet released everybody who, apparently, a certain section of the Council would like to see at liberty. On that matter, final orders have not yet been passed by Government, but where again is the relevancy of that to the present proposition, especially in so far as money now asked for has already been spent on the Kidderpore Jail? This grant is asked for by Sir Abd-ur-Rahim as a precautionary measure; it has reference mainly to the future, and its necessity or otherwise depends upon the contingency of frequent arrests being likely

to occur again. Of course I know that in one of the speeches we have just heard in this Council in favour of the non-co-operation movement, we had it laid down that in no circumstances should the Council be a party to the provision of jail accommodation for what are known as non-co-operators. But is that a proposition which this Council is really prepared to endorse? Looking to the facts that have been laid before the Council as regards the aims and objects of this movement, looking to the certain dangers of which this Council has been warned, is the Council prepared to accept the proposal that in no circumstances is anybody connected with the movement to suffer the indignity of being placed in a jail?

These are the two main arguments which have been brought forward, and I submit that unless the Council is prepared to commit itself to a whole-hearted ratification of the non-co-operation movement and its methods neither argument will hold water for a moment as reasons for rejecting this demand.

Lastly, there is a matter of provision of better accommodation, if necessary, for women in jail. The facts as regards this matter are well known, and it is well known to the Council with what reluctance Government has done anything which would necessitate the arrest of ladies; but here again, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that a contingency necessitating their arrests may arise, and the provision which is covered by this grant is merely to seek to ensure that should this most deplorable necessity arise, those ladies who would be placed in jail would be given better accommodation than otherwise it would be possible to afford them. That is the proposal before the Council shorn of all appeals to prejudice and shorn of all irrelevancy, and I cannot conceive the Council desiring that this should not be done.

With these remarks I put it to the Council that they should bring themselves back to the simple facts which are the reasons for the grant that is before them, and that they should dissociate themselves from these irrelevancies and appeals to personal animosity which have so greatly disfigured this debate.

Mr. AJOY CHUNDER DUTT: I have listened to the numerous speeches that have been made to-day and particularly to the speeches made by Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray and Babu Indu Bhushan Dutta. I frankly confess that I do not quite understand the speech of the Kumar Sahib. As far as I could make out, he suggested that the whole demand should be granted minus about Rs. 22,000 which is necessary for the ladies' jail. I am entirely in agreement with him with regard to this amendment, and I think the grant should be made for the construction of a jail at Kanchrapara, but I do not think any case has been made out for the expenditure of money for the accommodation of ladies. It was

not very long ago that a resolution was passed in this Council recommending that political prisoners should be treated as first class misdemeanants. Babu Indu Bhushan Dutta tells us that these political prisoners referred to, had no reference to the non-co-operation prisoners. Well, I wish to ask this question; would that resolution have ever been moved if the non-co-operation prisoners had not been in jail? I think not. That resolution was moved because many of the non-co-operation prisoners in the Kidderpore Jail suffered a great deal for want of proper accommodation, proper arrangements for food and so forth, and that was the reason why that resolution was moved and passed. Having passed that resolution I cannot see how the Council can, in reason, refuse the demand that has been made. We all want these political prisoners to be treated as first class misdemeanants. A great deal of criticism was directed against the Hon'ble Member in charge of Jails because the arrangements at the Kidderpore Jail were unsatisfactory. Now, I do not suppose that the Hon'ble Member is very anxious to entertain non-co-operation prisoners in jail These men have been thrust upon him by another department. He is just carrying out the wishes to the Council in proposing that a new jail should be constructed at Kanchrapara for the accommodation of these prisoners. You will remember that a resolution was passed in this Council recommending the release of non-co-operation prisoners. I spoke on that occasion, and I spoke in favour of release I do not know what the Government intend to do with reference to that recommendation. If Government propose to release these prisoners, then there is no necessity for constructing a jail at Kanchrapara; and we must also remember that the non-co-operation movement has received a set-back after the resolution passed at Bardoli To my mind the non-co-operation movement is dead; it can never be revived again; another movement may take its place, but it will not be the same movement. I am of opinion there will be no necessity for wholesale arrests in the near future; at the same time it is necessary to privide against contingencies, and if a jail can be constructed at Kanchrapara in such a manner that it can be converted into a hospital or turned to any other useful purpose, I say there is no reason why this demand should be refused We are all anxious that these prisoners who are in jail should be treated properly. Some of the prisoners at Kidderpore Jail were not fed for three or four days—that is the allegation—there is no doubt that there was a certain amount of dislocation in the arrangements. Sir Abd-ur-Rahim is having this jail erected just for the purpose of preventing a recurrence of this kind. After all, the demand is not very large, and I think the Council would do well to give their vote in support of this demand.

Maulvi EKRAMUL HUQ: I rise to oppose the amendment, but let it not be understood that I support the policy adopted by the Government. There are two propositions before us, one advanced by Babu Kishori

Mohan Chaudhuri and the other by Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray. The first one is quite intelligible to me, for Kishori Babu thinks that there is no room for the present policy adopted by Government, and as such there is absolutely no necessity to have jails erected. The next proposition by the Kumar Sahib, I am afraid, is not at all intelligible to me. Well, he denounces the policy of Government but evidently keeps in tact the demand made so far as the male prisoners are concerned. But, Sir, in order to come to a conclusion it is necessary to examine what took place before, for, as has been pointed out by Mr. A. C. Dutt, it was on account of the hue and cry raised by this Council that the Hon'ble Member for the Government had to look about and to provide better accommodation for political prisoners. Did we not make it plain to the Government that we could not bear the treatment accorded to these prisoners who were lodged in the Kidderpore Jail? We said here in this Council that these persons should not be herded together like rabbits or pigs, but should be treated as men, and if, as a result of the recommendations made by this Council, the Hon'ble Sir Abd-ur-Rahim takes into his head to provide better accommodation, we should, instead of coming down upon him, have praised him for all that he has done. Sir, it was with a view to carry out the wishes of the Council that steps were taken and so far as I know, the accommodation he has made at Berhampore—I wish it was not at all necessary and he had not made it—is of the best. But, Sir, I think we in the Council would do well to impress upon the Government that the time has come when it is not at all necessary to have either the jail at Kanchrapara or the accommodation for female prisoners at Berhampore, and let us all in a body make an effort to convince the Government that it will not be right to pursue the policy so long continued. But, Sir, as the expenses have already been incurred, I think we shall not be right in stopping the grant, for, is it not that last year, when we were discussing the Budget and when we in a body rejected the scheme for the Grand Trunk Canal, we had to vote for the money already expended by the Government? In this case also, we cannot but adopt the same procedure and insist that the Member for Government will not any more make other expenses over the matter, and with a view to utilising the structures already made, he should try to put them into some other scheme which will be beneficial to the country, for instance, the buildings at Kancharapara can be used for a reformatory school or they should be utilised for lodging persons who are not habitual offenders, for this will be a thing of the greatest benefit to the country, as persons who are not habitual offenders, if they are not kept along with habitual offenders, they will grow to be better persons and leave their habits to which they fell out of temptation.

In conclusion, I hope that efforts will be made to utilise the structures made in a better way, and not in the way in which it is proposed.

Rai HARENDRANATH CHAUDHURI: I beg to support the amendment proposed by my friend, Babu Indu Bhushan Dutta. Let me admit

Sir, at the outset that those of my friends who have spoken on this item, have spoken with a certain amount of feeling—call it vehemence if you like. But as regards clouding the issue, Sir Henry Wheeler, I think, has done more in that direction. For what is the simple issue before us? It is this: that only a fortnight ago, we passed a resolution in this Council demanding that the political prisoners should be set free. Had the Government seen its way to give effect to that resolution there would have arisen no occasion or necessity for this demand at all. Therefore, the simple issue before us is whether we should go back upon our resolution or not. As the question admits of only one answer, I say we should not be a party to this grant. But this is a demand which not only questions our self-respect but our manhood also. It presupposes that we can be submissive enough to consent to jails being erected for our ladies. For this demand not only covers the question of more accommodation for male prisoners, but also the question of erecting new jails for ladies, ladies whose only offence—if it is an offence at all is, that they are patriotic to a fault And this is a question which, Sir Henry Wheeler says, should be taken up in a dispassionate manner! while, to say the least of it, it is a proposal which must be considered preposterous by every right-thinking man. With these few words, I support the amendment.

Maulvi MAHAMMED MADASSUR HUSSAIN: I rise to support the amendment brought forward by Babu Indu Bhushan Dutta and Babu Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri. In doing so, I do not wish to hurl invectives against the Government Government did what they thought proper in the peculiar circumstances under which they were placed. These people in order to earn the reputation of martyr and hero courted imprisonment and they were given the chance of showing to the people what they wanted. In fact, Sir, they were not ordinary criminals who were sent to jail for committing ordinary crimes, but they are honest and misguided persons who thought they would be hailed as saviours of the country by doing things which they did. If we try to examine the psychology of these persons it will be at once apparent that what they did, they did under the behests of organisations under which they worked. The position has changed altogether since these persons were arrested and sent to jail. Their method has already undergone drastic change; under the orders of their leader Mr. Gandhi, they have ceased to disobey orders. They have ceased to bring themselves within the clutches of the law. Their sole activity according to the said direction will be confined to social service and *swadeshi*. Therefore, there is no apprehension of any further arrests being made and people put into jail. This Council has also recommended that they should be set at liberty. The Bihar Government has already conceded to the demand of the Council and it behoves our Government to release them. I appeal to Government with all the earnestness I can command to take into their

consideration this change of mentality of the non-co-operators and release them. The peace will not be endangered in any way. If there be no apprehension of the breach of peace there is absolutely no reason why they should be kept in confinement at the expense of ratepayers who are themselves starving. Government can insist on continuing them in jail for maintaining the prestige and dignity of the Government, but I submit the prestige has been sufficiently vindicated by putting them in jail. If they set them free now, it will show their magnanimity and enhance their prestige and popularity. Moreover, by doing so, much worry, trouble and expense will be saved. Government by doing so will also give effect to the resolutions which were carried by a majority and this fact will enhance their popularity.

Under the circumstances, I would appeal to the Government to release these persons and withdraw the demand for grant. With these observations, I would support the amendment for refusing the grant.

Babu TANKANATH CHAUDHURI: I rise to support the amendment of Babu Indu Bhushan Dutta. Only a few days ago, this Council recommended to Government that there was no necessity for putting so many non-co-operators into jail. Sir, this demand made by Sir Abd-ur-Rahim raises two questions. First, if the Council refuses the grant, the demand that the Council made a few days back that political prisoners should be better kept and should be better treated, that resolution would perhaps be nullified. Another aspect of the demand is that if the Council gives the grant, it would endorse the policy which has been adopted by the Government, a policy of repression. Many of us think that there is no necessity of putting so many persons in jail. We find that wherever men have been easily sent to jail, the non-co-operation movement is gaining ground. This policy of repression is like a red rag before an infuriated bull. Another aspect of the question is that if the Council refuses this demand, and if His Excellency the Governor sees that there is absolute necessity for the money, he can certify the expenditure. When that course is open to the Governor, why should this Council associate itself with the policy that has been followed? It is not always safe for the Government to have a subservient Council; a weak Council would only add to the weakness of the Government. We should make it clearly understood that we do not want this policy of repression to go on much longer; it will only help the spread of non-co-operation; it will only incite the people to do things which would be regretted both by the people of the country as well as by the members of the Government.

There is another amendment standing in the name of Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray. This amendment practically means that he wants that the Council should only refuse the grant for building jails for women, but he does not object to the building of a jail for men. Perhaps he thinks men could very easily undergo the hardships of a jail and therefore he has brought forward that amendment.

Now, Sir, the thing is this: that jails do not often act as a means of stopping the activities of the people who are bent upon doing good to the country—doing good in their own way. There is a saying that—

> Stone walls do not a prison make,
> Nor iron bars a cage,
> Minds innocent and quiet take
> That for a hermitage

So, if you go on putting people into jails for their difference of opinion, you cannot change their opinions, but you can make them cling to their opinion with greater firmness. Sir, only the other day, this Council passed a resolution that this policy of repression should not continue any longer, and it would therefore be logical on the part of the Council to refuse the demand of Rs. 1,50,000 for building new jails.

With these few words, I support the amendment of Babu Indu Bhushan Dutta.

Maulvi YAKUINUDDIN AHMED: When some time ago there was a resolution in this Council that Government should resort to repressive measures, at that time it was unanimously voted that repressive measures should be taken in order to combat non-co-operation, and when repressive measures were taken by Government, there was a howl of indignation and a howl that the repressive measures taken by Government were too repressive. I beg to submit that this conduct of the Council is inconsistent, and there ought to be a continuity of policy of the Council. When the non-co-operators were at their work, there were the moderates who were denouncing them, and there were a large number of councillors in this Council who posed as moderates. (A voice: "No.") There were a large number, I say, you cannot say "no"

Mr. HUSEYN SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY: I rise to a point of order. I object to the word "posed"; it was not a "pose."

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: Please take your seat, you cannot interrupt the member

Maulvi YAKUINUDDIN AHMED: I beg to submit that I said a large number of the councillors are moderates, and they always denounced non-co-operators and non-co-operation. That is the crux of the question. When we came to decide as to the work of the non-co-operators, when the Government decided that some repressive measures ought to be taken, the moderates in this Council gave their unanimous vote that such repressive measures ought to be taken to combat non-co-operation; if this is so, and when there is a large number of non-co-operators in jail, then there is a howl of indignation that they are not being treated well. Of course, for the sake of liberty, for the sake of the peace of the country, for the sake of the prestige of Government, there ought to be some check to the work of these non-co-operators, and when there is a check, that

check ought to be adhered to by this Council. It was said that the arrangements at Kidderpore Jail were unsatisfactory and that tier upon tier these men were sleeping in boxes and they might have fallen down and broken their limbs, but now when the grant for the jail is demanded, where better accommodation is to be provided, it is urged to refuse the grant *in toto*.

Then, with regard to the ladies, I do not advocate my friend's view that they ought to be within the *zenana;* they ought to, as every one else, take part in everything that their male relatives take part, and I say that because a provision is going to be made for a jail for female prisoners, we need not be afraid of our own sisters and mothers and wives that they should be there (" Hear, hear "). There need be no apprehension of their being put in the jail for which money is now demanded if they behave by themselves properly whether out of the *zenana* or within the *zenana*. It is only an accommodation which should be provided for contingencies and if such contingencies are not provided for there would be another howl when any female would be put in any jail. Under these circumstances I beg to submit that there ought to be a continuity of policy and the Council ought to support Government in their demand for the grant.

Sir ASUTOSH CHAUDHURI: The House ought to appreciate the observations which were made by the Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler when he spoke on this resolution. We ought to approach this matter absolutely dispassionately and look at it from a Counsel's point of view. Personal references are always objectionable and ought always to be avoided, but what is weighing on my mind I ought to candidly tell the House. This Council by a large majority recommended that these political prisoners should be released; that resolution followed a certain course of events which I need not dilate upon. The measures used are temporary. Arrests have been courted. I do not think that the state of things which led the Government to arrest these people is going to continue; non-co-operation has been knocked on the head Therefore, for temporary measures, I do not think that it is necessary to provide accommodation for misguided people.

With regard to ladies, I cannot quite endorse the opinion of the last speaker when he said that their place is in the *zenana* and the next best place for them is the jail.

Maulvi YAKUINUDDIN AHMED: I did not say that.

Sir ASUTOSH CHAUDHURI: I am sorry I misunderstood him. Anyhow, I quite agree with him that I do not like to see ladies in politics, specially our ladies. But in anticipation of a few of them going to the Calcutta bazars why should we provide accommodation for them near the Lunatic Asylum at Berhampore? It seems to me too premature.

So far as the Executive Government is concerned, it shows great imagination; so far as we are concerned we are more prosaic. May I make a suggestion? We heard yesterday or the day before from a responsible Minister, I am not quite sure on which date, that the administration of the Calcutta University was almost criminal. Why not ask the Calcutta University to lend you the Senate House or the University Institute for these prisoners? A large number of them could be easily accommodated in these buildings. There are also other places that I may recommend. Instead of utilising these resources now available to the Government, these magnificent institutions which do not contain students, I do not think, we should provide fresh accommodation for the misguided non-co-operators who, we are told, are most students ("Hear, hear").

Maulvi ABDUL JUBBAR PAHLOWAN: I had no mind to speak to-day, but the speech of a gentleman like a bomb dropping on the Council from the corner of this Hall made me speak; specially his jumping and howling ("Hear, hear") made me think whether he really felt for his country or wanted to show from his place that he is a great patriot. These sorts of people are spoiling the atmosphere of the country and they are really more dangerous to the country than the open enemies. I condemn such attitude. Sir, I cannot appreciate the remark made by Kumar Shib Shekareswar Ray. He does not oppose the demand for jail for males and why? Are there two different laws—one for males and another for females? If a lady commits murder is she not hanged? I do not speak of co-operators or non-co-operators, but I understand that an offence committed by a man or a woman would have the same degree of punishment meted out and also the same protection of the law. With these words, I resume my seat.

Mr. HUSEYN SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY: I beg to support the amendment of Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray.

To be consistent, the Council should refuse the grant altogether. Not long ago we passed by an overwhelming majority the resolution that the repressive laws be withdrawn and the prisoners set at liberty. This was a most important resolution and was an index of the tensity of our feelings and the depth of our revulsion against the policy furnished by the Government to maintain law and order. Our resolution has been ignored, but if we consider this resolution to be on a different plane to other minor resolutions similarly ignored, if we consider that the resolution deals with a matter far more vital to the interests and the life of the country than many we have passed heretofore, then it is our bounden duty to protest by all the constitutional means in our power against the supersession of our wishes which we must try and have registered as mandates: the more so as since we have passed the resolutions, a new situation has arisen after the Bardoli announcement and the Congress resolution which has clearly done away with the need of the repressive measures and

the need of further incarceration. The non-co-operation party has resiled considerably from its agressive programme and all immediate danger, if any real danger ever existed, not brought about by the injustices of the Government itself, has vanished; not brought about by the crass ignorance of the Government of the condition of the people of India, not brought about by utter want of appreciation of their true feelings, or utter disregard for their legitimate aspirations. But I must at the same time admit that the larger and the greater danger from the Government point of view to its superciliousness, high handedness and its obstinacy and its prestige as a foreign Government, sent specially by Providence to save this miserable, benighted, barbarous country from a dark dismal history still persists as long as the Khilafat and *swaraj* wrongs remain unrighted, as long as the Reforms refuse to give adequate scope for the realisation of our national destiny, as long as India will be considered as the happy hunting ground for adventures who think it their birth right to suck the blood of India for the glory of an empire. But this danger will always persist; the feeling of nationalism is growing, and unless Government desires to turn India into a vast jail or an extensive charnel house, it must recognise its legality, its utility, its necessity for the shaping of a great and mighty Indian nation, and accept with the best grace possible the onward march of events. It is not for us, Sir, to provide jails for such as these, it is not for us to curb their aspirations which are our aspirations. But these are in the future. For the present, the danger is least, and if the Government particularly the Government of India, ignorant in its exclusiveness, busy with schemes of city-building, had taken advantage of the present situation, and extended the hand of sympathy and forgiveness, the country, fickle as a country notoriously is, but hungering for sympathy, might yet have veered round and come to a compromise. But the Government continues in its obdurate course, continues to heap coals of fire on the heads of our countrymen, continues to conserve its energy for more grievous and vindictive blows.

Mr. S. R. DAS: May I rise to a point of order? Are these poetical effusions relevant to the matter under discussion?

Mr. HUSEYN SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY: I am glad that my friend from Burra Bazar has some sense of poetry although he does not show it in his exterior.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: Mr. Suhrawardy had better discuss the question before the Council.

The Hon'ble Sir HENRY WHEELER: May I ask for your ruling on the point raised by Mr. S. R. Das?

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: Mr. Suhrawardy is not entitled to discuss political questions. The question before the Council is whether a sum of Rs. 1,25,000 is to be granted or not.

Mr. AJOY CHUNDER DUTT: May I ask whether Mr. Suhrawardy was in order in making that observation relating to Mr. Das' appearance?

Mr. HUSEYN SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY: This Government intends to provide for 15,000 prisoners and we are expected to find the money. Let us say frankly that we are not such lovers of law and order as to save our skins at the expense of 15,000 of our best and bravest and we are no lovers of the police methods and the police outrages, which we know and have seen too often and too well, and which have too often earned the eulogium of Sir Henry Wheeler, to the eternal discredit of the Intelligence Department of this Government But the fact is with us that our voice has been ignored, and the prisoners are still in jail. I am willing however to sacrifice the prestige of the Council this moment in a good cause, if by doing so we can alleviate their distress. The Kidderpore jail must now be a blazing furnace, with no proper means of ventilation, and will become more of a furnace as the season advances; with flies and dust and stinks and sleeplessness adding to the amenities of life. If by refusing this vote we could have compelled Government to set the prisoners at liberty, if by this method we could have done what our resolutions have not done, I would have been first to do so; but if owing to our refusal, the prisoners have to suffer and continue to suffer untold miseries, if taking advantage of this, Government instead of restoring the grant continues to inflict further privations on them, and keeps them incarcerated in places not fit for human beings, for I have no faith in the kind-heartedness of this Government, I have no faith that this Government out of compassion for the prisoners will certify the grant where we ourselves may be said to have failed in compassion for the sake of prestige then for their sakes at least, we should be well advised to vote the grant meant for the prisoners in Kidderpore Jail which forms the main portion of the grant, I believe, Rs 99,000. But the grant for a woman's jail stands on a different footing We stand aghast that this Government could contemplate such a monstrous measure, that instead of liberating the prisoners, it intends to extend its operations to those which even this Government had been gallant enough to spare and we cannot permit this Government to enter upon a new departure in its pernicious policy, which is calculated to rouse the masses, as no cult of non-co-operation, no repressive measures of the Government, no indiscriminate belabouring by the police has yet done, "that may rouse the sluggards' blood to steel, the cowards' heart to flame." If Government ever entertained this eventuality, then we cannot be a party to it or a party to an expenditure incurred on such a monstrous hypothesis that this Council, however submissive, can ever vote in favour of it.

Apart from the messages of approval that I have had the honour to receive from all over this province, apart from the frequent interchange of views with substantial and loyal men, who have expressed to me their appreciation of my humble efforts to voice the feelings of the people whom I represent, and I say this in all humility, I too have made efforts to

understand the views of the people, not sitting within the precincts of an office, or relying upon the reports of subsidised officials, and I can assure the Government that, incited by junkers and reactionaries, it will be committing suicide and engulfing the country in ruin if it still persists in its policy of creating an atmosphere that may precipitate a crisis, and of still considering that it is a fact that the present conditions justify the possibility of further arrests.

Under the circumstances, Sir, reiterating with vehemence that Government must stop its programme of arrests, I support the amendment of Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: Although I did not catch at the time the exact words you used, but I understand that you said: "I am glad that my friend from Burra Bazar has some sense of poetry although he does not show it in his exterior." You ought to withdraw that remark.

Mr. HUSEYN SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY: I withdraw that and apologise.

Kumar SHIB SHEKHARESWAR RAY: I think, Sir, these expressions are allowed in the House of Commons.

Maulvi SHAH MUHAMMAD CHAUDHURI: It is true that we carried a resolution in this Council the other day that the repressive measure be withdrawn and the persons already sentenced be released. In that sense, it is inconsistent to grant this demand, but when the Government has not found its way to withdraw the Criminal Law Amendment Act or to release the non-co-operation prisoners, I ask the members of this Council—Do they want to send the political prisoners to the ordinary jail and put them with the ordinary convicts, or do they want to keep them in a separate place with all sorts of conveniences? The other day another resolution was passed to accord the same treatment to political prisoners as to first class misdemenants in England and so if they want to look after their comforts they must grant this money.

There is another course open to us, and that is to send these non-co-operators to the Sunderbans or some other place where Government has got khas land with a pair of bullocks and a plough and a *charka*, which Mahatma Gandhi wants everyone to adopt, to form a colony there. In that case also money is wanted. So it is incumbent on us to grant this demand.

As for Kanchrapara, we do not know whether it is a healthy or an unhealthy place and it is a matter for the Government to decide.

With these words I oppose the amendment.

Rai JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE Bahadur: I beg to support the amendment of Kumar Shib Shakhareswar Ray: but I must say that I cannot understand the reasoning employed by him or by the supporters of his amendment: Their reasoning goes to show that the whole amount

should be refused. My friend Babu Surendra Nath Mallik had an amendment in the same terms as that of Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray, but he found that for the sake of consistency he must withdraw his amendment and support the more drastic amendment of Babu Indu Bhushan Dutta. Sir, we are told by Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri that for the sake of fairness and impartiality we should all accede to the request for the refusal of the demand for the grant, but I cannot understand how in fairness he could support the amendment of Babu Indu Bhushan Dutta. Let us consider this question impartially. This is a subject which belongs to the Reserved Departments of the Government and Government as a matter favour, have come to us for sanctioning this amount and even if we do not sanction the amount they will yet go on with it in spite of us. The money has, I understand, been already spent and only a few thousands might not have been spent though contracts have been entered into for it. Now, the question is this - Are we to be so unreasonable as to refuse this amount out of sheer cussedness to put the Government in a false position? Sir, I did not vote for the resolution which said that all prisoners should be released I did not vote either way; but that had been passed and for the dignity of this House, I should have supported the amendment of Babu Indu Bhushan Dutta, but the money has been spent already. The mistake which the department concerned has committed is by putting the words "for non-co-operation prisoners." If the department had simply said "for the extension of prisons" nobody could have said anything. Only because they have put in those words all these difficulties have arisen. Non-co-operation prisoners are as good as ordinary prisoners and they must have accommodation The prison authorities have to provide accommodation, they have nothing to do with politics or with the resolutions of this Council. When so many men are sent to the prison, they are bound to ask for larger accommodation, and in view of obtaining sanction they have made larger accommodation Well, if my friend purchases those buildings which have been built it is well and good. I cannot, however, see any justification for putting it down in black and white -"prisons for ladies." What is this? Want of ordinary common-sense. We are not going to send ladies to jail. We shall all protest in a body against sending ladies to jail. Where have they been sent to jail for the offences alleged? Nowhere in the world have ladies been sent to jail wholesale. I have never seen such a demand—such a bare-faced demand. Sir, I therefore say that this demand for ladies- I mean this demand for the accommodation of ladies—should be refused.

The Hon'ble Sir ABD-UR-RAHIM: Having regard to the nature of the debate, I think I should be perfectly justified on behalf of Government in using strong language with regard to the reckless charges that have been made, but it would not add to the dignity of the House if I were to do so. Since I have entered this Council I have found that there is a tendency on the part of several members of the Council to make all sorts of allegations against Government whether there is any justification

for them or not. I as a Member of this Government bear my share of the responsibility for every action of the Government and I can say this that in putting this demand before the Council, Government have acted very thoughtfully and considerately in the best interests of the country. I have never in this Council or elsewhere tried to use strong language against our political opponents as that would create further difficulties in the way of administration. I have deliberately refrained from using such language because I konw the more intemperate language is used the more difficult will be our task. This Council has been brought into being by statesmen of rare courage and foresight; they, in spite of strong expressions of opinion by expert administrators to the effect that it was premature to launch hazardous experiments in this country, have had the courage to formulate and inaugurate the far-sighted policy of the Reforms which we all earnestly hope will prove successful. But remember, this, this is the first stage of the Reforms. The dyarchy is not the aim in view of the authors of the Reforms; the aim in view of the Reforms Scheme is complete Self-Government, and it should be the endeavour of every one of us, both inside and outside the Council, of everyone inside or outside the Government, to see that that policy is carried out properly and that nothing is done to retard its progress. Those who take up an attitude of unreasoned hostility towards the present Government of the country are surely doing no good service to the country at all. If they go on like this, it will be impossible to consider any measures for the progress and welfare of the country. It is only when the Government as well as the Council are in a position to consider in a proper atmosphere, the various and difficult problems of administration that lie before us that it is possible to arrive at a solution. By calling into question every act of Government, however well meant it may be, you will not be helping the Government or anybody. We have got immense difficulties before us, we have got many serious problems, but is this the way of helping Government to solve these problems?

It is easy to speak in the name of the country, in the name of patriotism. We all love our country Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, myself and the other Indian members of Government are children of the soil, we love our country as much as any other member of the House, and anyone who dares challenge our motives does so for the sake of self-advertisement.

Dr. A. SUHRAWARDY: May I rise to a point of order? Is the Hon'ble Member entitled to attack other members of the Council in this way?

Babu SURENDRA NATH MALLIK: Is the Hon'ble Member in order in imputing motives? I want a ruling.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: I think the Hon'ble Member does not mean anything.

The Hon'ble Sir ABD-UR-RAHIM: It is not fair to interrupt me like this. The grant which is now asked for was practically sanctioned by the Council in this very Hall immediately after the announcement of the measures by His Excellency and most of that amount has already been spent. No question was raised at that time—(cries of dissent)—I say deliberately that no question was raised at that time as to the wisdom of the measures.

Kumar SHIB SHEKHARESWAR RAY: Only two hours' time was given.

The Hon'ble Sir ABD-UR-RAHIM: It ought to be remembered that these projects have not been started now; they were started while these non-co-operation activities were in full swing. It was to meet future contingencies of that nature, it was to meet the problems that were then facing the Government that those projects were undertaken. It became necessary for Government to arrest the men violating the laws and it was their duty to do so. They could put them in the jails already existing, whatever might be the discomforts they had to suffer, but that is not what the Government wanted. They wanted to see that proper accommodation was available, that prisoners were properly treated, as they should be, and it was for that purpose that these projects were set on foot. There has been a good deal of argument like this. What is the good now of asking for this grant; as a matter of fact part of the amount has already been spent; there is a lull in the non-co-operation activities; there have been no arrests. The answer is that these measures were set on foot and matured while there was imminent danger of these activities being continued. There was a talk throughout the country of mass civil disobedience. What would that mean? It was quite apparent that larger accommodation in the jails would be necessary, and it was under those circumstances that this Kanchrapara Jail was started. As regards the Kidderpore Jail, that was established soon after the notifications were issued Government was bound to arrest those persons who openly defied the law and courted arrests at public meetings. It was found that the accommodation in the Presidency Jail was insufficient for all the prisoners and so the temporary jail at Kidderpore was started. Most of the expenditure of Rs. 99,500 for which sanction is now asked has already been incurred as the Superintendent and warders had to be paid and the expenses of 900 prisoners had to be met. I put it to the Council how could any member reasonably ask the Council to refuse this grant?

As regards the Kanchrapara Jail, what is asked for is Rs. 3,500, which is meant to cover the cost of the Superintendent, warders and other staff that had to be kept ready in case the jail was required. You cannot get hold of Superintendents and warders at a moment's notice.

We had got to be ready when the Jail Department was warned that accommodation might be required for more prisoners, and it was our duty to make preparations beforehand. I suppose everybody knows in this House that when a Magistrate directs the jail officer to take such and such prisoner in custody, it is his bounden duty to take them in. He cannot refuse, because that is the law. If you impugn that you must get the law changed. Unless you want these prisoners to be huddled together and put to all sorts of sufferings I submit the House ought to pass this demand.

As regards the temporary jail for female prisoners at Berhampore, I have repeatedly told the House that as a matter of fact Government has been scrupulously avoiding arrests of women. I am an Indian and I shall be naturally against arresting women, nor do I think that any Englishman would lightly contemplate arresting them unless it was found absolutely necessary. Government has been acting in that spirit. No arrests have been made yet, but some of these ladies not only defied the law themselves but dragged hundreds of people in their train, would address them in public squares defying law as grossly and as openly as any of the men non-co-operators.

If they persisted in doing that, what was the position of Government? Was it not reasonable on the part of Government to make some provision for their accommodation in case their hands were absolutely forced? What have we done? We have acted in the best interests of the very misguided persons by providing suitable accommodation. Is the Government to be taken to task for this?

Now, something has been said as regards the non-co-operation prisoners they are fighting for the good of the country and why should they be put into jail? Well, I am ready to admit that at least many of them are acting from motives of patriotism, but it is their methods which are open to objection, and I take it that the members of this House generally object to those methods just as strongly as any member of Government. If that is so, what is the position—either you want us to treat these men when arrested in a way which would not be right or proper or you must provide proper accommodation for them. We want to provide proper accommodation so that they might not suffer harsh treatment. What will be the result if hundreds of these people were put in jail along with criminals of desperate character? In that case it would be difficult for the jail officials to maintain discipline without adopting severe measures as some of these people are apt to behave very unreasonably in jail.

It has been suggested that this being a demand for a reserved subject, the Governor could certify and so in asking the Council for this grant we are adding insult to injury. We are asking for this grant as a Government. Whether the Governor will or will not certify that lies entirely in his discretion. We cannot say for certain that he will certify. supposing he does not certify, what will be the result? These men will

have to suffer. It is to relieve their sufferings that we want to provide proper accommodation. But if the Council refuse this demand instead of reducing their sufferings, they will be intensifying them. That will be the inevitable result if the Council do not provide proper accommodation for them, however eloquent some of the members may wax. The prisoners are in our charge and it is our duty to make proper arrangements for their accommodation. It is all very well for some of the members to refuse a demand like this because they do not approve of the Government or of somebody in charge of a particular Department, it is our bounden duty to see that prisoners are properly kept.

The amendment of Babu Indu Bhushan Dutt was then put and a division taken with the following result:—

AYES.

Ahmed, Maulvi Rafi Uddin.
Ahmed, Munshi Jafar.
Ali, Mr. Syed Erfan.
Ali, Munshi Amir.
Ali, Munshi Ayub.
Arhamuddin, Maulvi Khandakar.
Bhattacharji, Babu Hem Chandra.
Chaudhuri, Babu Kisheri Mohan.
Chaudhuri, Babu Tankanath.
Chaudhuri, Rai Narendranath.
Dutta, Babu Indu Bhushan.
Haq, Shah Syed Emdadul.
Hussain, Maulvi Muhammad Madassur.
Khan, Maulvi Hamid-ud-din.
Mahramali, Munshi.
Mallik, Babu Surendra Nath.
Mollra, Dr. Jatindra Nath.
Mukherji, Professor S. C.
Mukhopadhya, Babu Sarat Chandra.
Nahay, Mirza Muhammad Ali.
Naskar, Babu Hem Chandra.
Pahlewan, Maulvi Md. Abdul Jubbar.
Pal, Rai Bahadur Radha Charan.
Ray, Kumar Shib Shekhareswar.
Ray, Rai Bahadur Upendra Lal.
Ray, Babu Jogendra Krishna.
Ray, Babu Jogendra Nath.
Roy, Mr. Bijoy Prosad Singh.
Ray, Mr. Tarit Bhusan.
Sarkar, Babu Rishindra Nath.
Suhrawardy, Dr. A.
Suhrawardy, Dr. Hassan.
Suhrawardy, Mr. Husayn Shaheed.

NOES.

Afzal, Nawabzada K. M., Khan Bahadur.
Ahmed, Khan Bahadur, Maulvi Wasimuddin.
Ahmed, Maulvi Azaharuddin.
Ahmed, Maulvi Yakuinuddin.
Banerjea, the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath.
Barma, Rai Sahib Panchanan.
Basu, Babu Jatindra Nath.
Bias, Mr. E. E.
Bompas, Mr. C. H.
Chaudhuri, Maulvi Shah Muhammad.
Chaudhuri, the Hon'ble the Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali, Khan Bahadur.
Das, Babu Bhismadev.
Das, Mr. S. R.
Bas Gupta, Rai Bahadur Hiharan Chandra.
Dutt, Mr. Ajoy Chunder.
Duval, Mr. H. P.
French, Mr. F. C.
Forrester, Mr. J. Campbell.
Ghosh, Rai Bahadur Jogendra Chunder.
Goode, Mr. S. W.
Hopkyins, Mr. W. S.
Huntingford, Mr. G. T.
Hug, Maulvi Ekramul.
James, Mr. R. N. L. Langford.
Karim, Maulvi Fazlal.
Kerr, the Hon'ble Mr. J. H.
Khan, Mr. Razaur Rahman.
Lang, Mr. J.
Larmour, Mr. F. A.
Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, the Hon'ble.
Mitter, the Hon'ble Mr. P. C.
Mullick, Babu Nirode Behary.
Pugh, Colonel A. J.
Rahim, the Hon'ble Sir Abdur.
Rauf, Maulvi Shah Abdur.
Ray Chaudhuri, Mr. Krishna Chandra.
Ray Chaudhury, Raja Manmatha Nath.
Roy, Rai Bahadur Lalit Mohan Singh.
Ray, Raja Manilell Singh.
Ray Chaudhuri, Babu Saliaja Nath.
Salam, Khan Bahadur Abdus.
Skinner, Mr. H. E.
Spry, Mr. H. E.
Stephenson, Mr. H. L.
Swan, Mr. J. A. L.
Walsh, Mr. C. P.
Wheeler, the Hon'ble Sir Henry.
Wordsworth, Mr. W. C.

The Ayes being 33 and the Noes 48, the motion was lost.

The amendment of Kumar Shib Shekhareswar Ray was then put and, a division taken with the following result:—

AYES.

Afzal, Nawabzada K. M., Khan Bahadur.
Ahmed, Maulvi Rafi Uddin.
Ahmed, Munshi Jafar.
Ali, Mr. Syed Erfan.
Ali, Munshi Amir.
Ali, Munshi Ayub.
Arhamuddin, Maulvi Khandakar.
Bhattacharji, Babu Hem Chandra.
Chaudhuri, Babu Kisheri Mohan.
Chaudhuri, Rai Harendranath.
Das Gupta, Rai Bahadur Nibaran Chandra.
Dutt, Mr. Ajoy Chunder.
Dutta, Babu Indu Bhushan.
Chose, Rai Bahadur Jogendra Chunder.
Haq, Shah Syed Emdadul.
Hussain, Maulvi Muhammad Madassur.
Khan, Maulvi Hamid-ud-din.
Khan, Mr. Razaur Rahman.
Mokramali, Munshi.
Mallik, Babu Surendra Nath.
Maitra, Dr. Jatindra Nath.
Mukharjee, Babu Nitya Dhen.
Mukherji, Professor S. C.
Mukhopadhaya, Babu Sarat Chandra.
Nakey, Mirza Muhammad Ali.
Nasker, Babu Hem Chandra.
Rauf, Maulvi Shah Abdur.
Ray, Kumar Shib Shekhareswar.
Ray, Rai Bahadur Upendra Lal.
Ray Choudhury, Raja Manmatha Nath.
Ray, Babu Jogendra Krishna.
Roy, Babu Jogendra Nath.
Roy, Mr. Bijay Prosad Singh.
Roy, Mr. Tarit Bhusan.
Roy Chaudhuri, Babu Sailaja Nath.
Sarkar, Babu Rishindra Nath.
Suhrawardy, Dr. A.
Suhrawardy, Dr. Hassan.
Suhrawardy, Mr. Huseyn Shaheed.

NOES.

Ahmed, Khan Bahadur, Maulvi Wasimuddin.
Ahmed, Maulvi Yakuinuddin.
Banerjea, the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath.
Basu, Babu Jatindra Nath.
Biss, Mr. E. E.
Bompas, Mr. C. H.
Chaudhuri, Maulvi Shah Muhammad.
Chaudhuri, the Hon'ble the Nawab Saiyid Naweb Ali, Khan Bahadur.
Das, Babu Bhishmadev.
Das, Mr. S. R.
Duval, Mr. H. P.
French, Mr. F. C.
Forrester, Mr. J. Campbell.
Goode, Mr. S. W.
Hopkyins, Mr. W. S.
Huntingford, Mr G. T.
Huq, Maulvi Ekramul.
James, Mr. R. H. L. Langford.
Karim, Maulvi Fazlal.
Kerr, the Hon'ble Mr. J. N.
Lang, Mr. J.
Larmour, Mr. F. A.
Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, the Hon'ble.
Mitter, the Hon'ble Mr. P. C.
Mullick, Babu Nirode Behary.
Pahlewan, Maulvi Md. Abdul Jubbar.
Pugh, Colonel A. J.
Rahim, the Hon'ble Sir Abdur.
Ray Chaudhuri, Mr. Krishna Chandra.
Ray, Rai Bahadur Lalit Mohan Singh.
Salam, Khan Bahadur Abdus.
Skinner, Mr. H. E.
Spry, Mr. H. E.
Stephenson, Mr. H. L.
Swan, Mr. J. A. L.
Walsh, Mr. C. P.
Wheeler, the Hon'ble Sir Henry.
Wordsworth, Mr W. C.

The Ayes being 39 and the Noes 38, the motion was carried.

The original motion as amended was then put and agreed to.

26.—Police.

MEMBER in charge of POLICE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler): I move that a sum of Rs. 34,000 be granted to meet the total excess under "26. Police." This demand is rather in the nature of a balancing of expenditure. The revised estimate which has been circulated was less by this amount than what the balancing of figures now shows to be the probable expenditure of this department, and the difference requires to be covered by a vote. It is the sum total

of a certain number of excesses and a certain number of deficiencies, the net result being this total of Rs. 34,000. A large part of the details is accounted for by provision for the higher pay of clerks and by the fact that the establishment charges have been heavier by reason of the fact that there were, in fact, fewer vacancies than were anticipated on the experience of last year. Under "Presidency Police" the total excess is Rs. 1,20,000. The chief increased provisions are Rs. 32,000 as against Rs. 10,000 under "Superintendence, house-rent and other allowances," in order to meet the cost of the *ad-interim* allowances of clerks, full provision for which was not made in the budget estimate; Rs. 7,50,000 as against Rs. 6,00,000 for constables' pay, owing to fewer vacancies; a provision of Rs. 2,54,000 for extra police arrangements at the time of the Royal Visit, most of which has already been voted; Rs. 74,000 for hospital charges, as compared with Rs. 61,000, to provide for the previously sanctioned increased pay (including arrear pay) of the staff. On the other hand the provision under River and Dock Police has been reduced owing to recoveries from the Port Commissioners exceeding the estimated amount.

Under "Superintendence," Bengal Police, we have Rs. 2,01,000 as against Rs. 1,70,000 for salaries and exchange compensation allowance on account of the revision of officers' pay; Rs. 34,000 instead of Rs. 12,000 under house-rent and other allowances to meet the cost of the *ad interim* allowance of clerks. Under "establishment" a reduction of Rs. 28,000 has been effected.

In the "District Executive Force" the provision for salaries has been reduced from Rs. 8,62,000 to Rs. 8,20,000. Under Police Force the net excess is Rs. 2,85,000, the increases being under the pay of inspectors and constables owing to the revision of pay and better recruitment, while the amounts provided for the pay of sub-inspectors, assistant sub-inspectors and head constables have not been required in full.

In police training schools the provision has been raised from Rs. 2,33,000 to Rs. 3,08,000, the increased charges being due to the appointment of an Assistant Principal at Sarda and the cost of the Howrah detective training school being debited under this head instead of under the Criminal Investigation Department.

In establishment charges the provision has been increased from Rs. 4,82,000 to Rs. 5,33,000, the main increase being under launch and boat establishment owing to the revision of the pay of the staff.

In allowances and contingencies a larger provision for the travelling allowance is necessary owing to the greater activity of the police force, and for the same reason as well as on account of the rise in prices the provision for contingencies has been raised.

Hospital charges are less owing to larger recoveries for diet supplied in hospital.

In military police a small increase of Rs. 7,000 under contingencies calls for no remarks.

In railway police increased provision has been made for the Eastern Bengal Railway and East Indian Railway police to meet the actual cost of the force especially constables (there being fewer vacancies in this rank) and also on acount of contingencies. The total net provision for railway police is however less owing to the adjustment of accounts as explained in the Financial Statement.

In Criminal Investigation Department the total provision has been reduced from Rs. 6,72,000 to Rs. 6,50,000, the increase under police force being more than counterbalanced by reductions under the heads of salaries, establishment and allowances.

Therefore this sum which I now ask is the net result of these various additions and subtractions which I have briefly detailed.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

40.—Exchange on transactions with London.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. KERR: I move that a sum of Rs. 8,65,000 be granted to meet the loss on account of exchange on transactions with London. Following the course adopted by the Government of India in the current year's Budget we took the rate of exchange for the year to be 2 shillings to the rupee. As everybody knows these expectations were not realised and a large part of the Government of India's financial troubles are due to that fact. In our case the loss owing to the rate of exchange is not however so serious. It amounts, on account of "Miscellaneous Stores" to this sum of Rs 8,65,000 which I now ask the Council to vote.

Colonel A. J. PUGH: Sir, may I ask a question before the motion is put?

I understood the Hon'ble Member to say that this Government had taken exchange at 2 shillings but the Government of Indian took it at 1s. 8d. Will the Hon'ble Member explain how 2 shillings came to be taken by this Government while the Government of India took it 1s 8d.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. KERR: The point is, Sir, that under the various detailed heads of the Budget we took it at 2 shillings and I understand that the Government of India did the same. For the purposes of their main budget they have taken it at 1s. 8d., but under their instructions we took it at 2 shillings in the detailed heads.

The motion was put and agreed to.

46.—Stationery and Printing.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. KERR: I move that a sum of Rs. 6,76,000 be granted to meet excesses under the major head "46.—Stationery and Printing." The reasons for these excesses are stated in the memorandum which has been circulated. I have nothing to add to that memorandum and I have nothing further to say in justification of this demand.

Rai JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE Bahadur: May I be permitted to speak in opposition to it?

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: I am afraid my ruling should be that you cannot speak as you have not sent in any amendment. This is, I presume, an unopposed item as no member has sent in a motion for refusal or reduction under the rules.

Rai JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE Bahadur: It is not a question of amendment at all. I want to speak in opposition to it: there is no question of amendment.

Babu SURENDRA NATH MALLIK: In that case, why are these motions put to the vote and Ayes and Noes asked for?

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT (after deliberating with the Legislative Secretary): Very well, you may speak.

Rai JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE Bahadur: I have a word to say against this grant. I find that there is an increase of Rs. 8,00,000 in Stationery and Printing to last year's budget. The price of paper of late has gone down by half and I may say that this extraordinary increase of stationery and printing in these years of deficit is not certainly justified. I think, there ought to be a limit to so much printing, so much pen and ink and so much stationery. I therefore say, Sir, this sum ought not to be allowed.

The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. KERR: I do not know whether Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur has read the memorandum which has been circulated. In that memorandum he will find the reasons for the increase. The main increase is under Stationery supplied from the Central Stores. This is due very largely to the purchase of additional paper for the Forms Department which was unavoidable this year. Previously they had been going on with their old stock of paper and when they came up at the end of last year, I understand, the Finance Department, before I took over charge, told them to go on and finish their stocks. Hence it was necessary to purchase large stocks this year. I may say this particular transaction attracted the attention of Mr. Spry and he brought it to my notice and we propose to go into the question of the supply of paper for forms and see whether we cannot regulate it in some more effective manner than at present. This is

rather a difficult matter because it is not easy to regulate the issue of paper and to compare it with the issue of forms for the departments. Then the increase in the Press expenditure is, as the Council will see, very largely due to the large increase in work caused by this enlarged Council. Everybody who has served in the old Council will realise at once what an enormous increase in printing of various kinds this Council is responsible for. The work is constantly expanding as we are aware and under these conditions the demand for printing must increase. In the Press Department we have got an increase of Rs. 71,000 under contingencies due mainly to the considerable increase in cost since last year of many of the materials required in printing, coal, ink, turpentine and oil. There are also increased postage and the larger outturn of the Press. It is also necessary to provide a sum of Rs. 90,000 for the printing work of the High Court which is done by the Government of India Press. The cost of this was formerly borne by the Central Government but under the Reforms Scheme has to be borne by this Government.

These, Sir, are the main items which make up the total of Rs. 6,76,000. I am afraid, it is unavoidable and we must meet this expenditure.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

Adjournment.

The Council was then adjourned till 3 P.M. on Friday, the 3rd March, 1922, at the Town Hall, Calcutta.

Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council assembled under the provisions of the Government of India Act.

THE Council met in the Council Chamber in the Town Hall, Calcutta, at 3 P.M. on Friday, the 3rd March, 1922.

Present:

The Deputy-President in the Chair, the Hon'ble the four Members of the Executive Council, the Hon'ble the three Ministers and 82 nominated and elected members.

Unstarred Questions

(answers to which were laid on the table).

Venereal Diseases in Calcutta.

212. Rai HARENDRANATH CHAUDHURI: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble the Minister in charge of the Department of Local Self-Government in a position to furnish any statistics, showing the increase or otherwise, of the venereal diseases in this country and specially in Calcutta?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble the Minister be pleased to state how many hospitals or institutions there are in Calcutta for the treatment of venereal diseases?

(*c*) Are the Government considering the desirability of introducing an Act, on the lines of the English Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864-69, to check the spread of venereal diseases in Calcutta?

MINISTER in charge of DEPARTMENT of LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea): (*a*) A statement is laid on the table. The figures for 1920 include "Other diseases of venereal origin." Such cases were previously shown under the head, "All other infective diseases."

(*b*) All hospitals and dispensaries in Calcutta treat venereal patients. There is a special hospital, viz., Voluntary Venereal Hospital at Alipore for the treatment of females suffering from this disease.

(*c*) There is no such proposal before Government at present.

Statement referred to in the reply to clause (a) of unstarred question No. 212, showing the number of patients treated for venereal diseases.

(i) In Calcutta medical institutions during 1916-1920.

1916	18,459
1917	19,642
1918	17,155
1919	15,743
1920	23,120

(ii) In the mufassal hospitals during 1916-1920.

1916	59,539
1917	61,630
1918	61,057
1919	64,219
1920	70,616

Port Commissioners' License Office at Ramkrishnapur.

213. Rai HARENDRANATH CHAUDHURI: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Marine Department be pleased to state whether it is a fact that there is only one Port Commissioners' license office for granting licenses to boats plying in the Hooghly and that it is situated at Ramkrishnapur?

(*b*) Is it a fact that boats coming out of the Circular and Eastern Canal are arrested for not taking out Port Commissioners' licenses no sooner they enter the Hooghly?

(*c*) How many boat-*manjis* have been arrested for not taking out such licenses and how many of them have been fined or otherwise punished for such offences during the last five years?

(*d*) Are the Government considering the desirability of requesting the Port Commissioners to establish a license office near the Chitpur toll-station?

MEMBER in charge of MARINE DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Kerr): (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) Some cases have occurred of boats being arrested after coming out of the Circular and Eastern Canal into the Hooghly.

(*c*) Figures are available only for the last four years. They are as follows:—

	1918.	1919	1920	1921.
Arrested	464	179	359	283
Fined	457	178	353	279
Warned and discharged ...	6	1	4	3
Acquitted	—	—	1	1
Struck off	1	—	1	—

(*d*) The Port Commissioners who were consulted state that they do not contemplate establishing a second license office as it would mean duplication of expenditure which would have to be recouped by an increase in the present license charges.

They propose, however, to make an arrangement by which permits or temporary passes will be issued to boats coming from the Canal on their way to get licenses at the registration office, on application at the nearest toll-house, about 150 yards from the Canal. These permits will cover the journey from the Canal to the registration office at Ramkrishnapur and hold good for one or two days. In the circumstances, Government do not propose to take further action at present.

Bench appointments in certain unions of Tippera sadar subdivision.

214. SHAH SYED EMDADUL HAQ: (*a*) Has the attention of the Hon'ble the Minister in charge of the Department of Local Self-Government been drawn to the selection of members of the union board of the sadar southern subdivisions of the Tippera district for investment with bench powers under section 65 of Bengal Act V of 1919?

(*b*) Is the Hon'ble the Minister aware that in unions Nos. 12 and 13, and in the Laksam and Uttardah unions in the said district, the majority of the inhabitants are Muhammadans among whom there are several efficient men?

(*c*) If so, will the Hon'ble the Minister be pleased to state why—

(*i*) in the Laksam union no Muhammadans have been invested with powers under section 65;

(*ii*) in the Uttardah union one Muhammadan has been so invested;

(*iii*) in the Laksam union the Hindu zamindars have not been so invested;

(*iv*) in the Bhouksar union (union No. 13) one Muhammadan has been invested with such powers; and

(*v*) in the Bhouksar union out of three Hindu members two members (uncle and cousin) have been so vested?

(*d*) Was the selection based on the personal inquiry of the District Magistrate or on that of subordinate officers?

(*e*) If the inquiry was made by the subordinate officers will the Hon'ble the Minister be pleased to state the names of such officers?

(*f*) Is the Hon'ble the Minister aware that the District Magistrate was asked by me on the 21st June last, to make personal inquiries?

(*g*) Did he make personal inquiries? If not, why not?

(*h*) Are the Government considering the desirability of taking any steps in the matter?

The Hon'ble Sir SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA: (*a*) Yes.

(*b*) The Minister is informed that the majority of the inhabitants in these unions are Muhammadans, and doubtless many of them are efficient men.

(*c*) The District Magistrate reports that in selecting men for investment with judicial powers, under section 65 of the Bengal Village Self-Government Act (V of 1919), his aim was to select the most efficient persons available, irrespective of their religion or creed or of other considerations. This is in accordance with the policy approved by Government. It is also reported that in these unions the local Muhammadans tend to be less advanced, educationally and politically, than the Hindus, and it is not therefore possible for the Magistrate to nominate them to Bench appointments in proportion to their number.

(*d*) and (*e*) The selection was not based on any special inquiry made by the District Magistrate. The nominations were made by the District Magistrate on the recommendation of the Subdivisional Officer, Babu Rajmohan Ganguly, and the Circle Officer, Babu Manoranjan Chaudhuri, who already knew the persons in the respective unions who were best fitted for the posts.

(*f*) Yes

(*g*) The district was at that time in a disturbed state politically, and the railway and steamer strikes were in full swing The absence of the District Magistrate for any considerable time in an out-of-the-way place of the district would have been most undesirable It was for the District Magistrate, as chief executive officer of the district, to decide whether a personal inquiry was necessary or not.

(*h*) The answer is in the negative In making appointments under section 65 of the Bengal Village Self-Government Act, Government rely on the judgment of the District Magistrate, who is the most competent authority in the district, to make nominations The Magistrate will no doubt consider any suggestions made to him on the subject, but he is not necessarily bound to act on them. In this particular case, the District Magistrate reports that the subordinate officers concerned are both very competent men, and that he has the greatest confidence in their judgment.

Proportion of Muhammadans in the offices of the District Magistrate and the District Judge of Bakarganj.

215. Maulvi FAZLAL KARIM: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Appointment Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing—

(*i*) the number of ministerial officers appointed by the District Magistrate and the District Judge in their offices in the district of Bakarganj in the year 1921;

(*ii*) the number of Muhammadan officers appointed in 1921; and

(*iii*) the percentage of Muhammadan ministerial officers in those offices including the subordinate courts?

(*b*) Is the Hon'ble the Member aware that the circular to appoint more Muhammadan officers is not always observed in the offices and courts of Bengal?

(*c*) If so, what steps, if any, are the Government going to take to ensure the observance of the circular in future?

MEMBER in charge of APPOINTMENT DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler): (*a*) A statement is laid on the table.

(*b*) and (*c*) The position in the district offices in Bengal is reviewed every year by the Commissioner who passes the necessary orders. The control of the civil court offices is vested in the District Judges.

Statement showing the number of ministerial officers appointed by the District Magistrate and the District Judge of Bakarganj referred to in the reply to clause (a) of unstarred question No. 215.

Year	Number of ministerial officers appointed	Number of Muhammadan officers appointed	Percentage of Muhammadan ministerial officers.
Magisterial Court —			
1921	7	3	27·2
Judge's Court —			
1921	2*	Nil	10

* These two appointments were made according to seniority from the probation.

Resolutions

(under the rules for the discussion of matters of general public interest).

Postponement of resolution.

Babu KISHORI MOHAN CHAUDHURI: I am told that the subject matter of my resolution is under the consideration of the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Local Self-Government Department, and I therefore beg leave that it may be postponed to some convenient date. Hereafter, if I think it necessary I will move it.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT (Babu Surendra Nath Ray): The following resolution of Babu Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri goes to the bottom of the list:—

"This Council recommends to the Government that Government servants and Government pleaders be not allowed to offer themselves for election to the municipalities, district boards, local boards and union boards in Bengal, and that the system of voting by ballot be introduced in elections to those bodies."

Failure of resolution.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: The following resolution of Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur fails because we have already passed a law which covers the subject matter of the resolution:—

"This Council recommends to the Government that the Calcutta Improvement Act be so amended as to permit of the payment of a statutory allowance of 15 per cent. in all cases of land acquisition for the Improvement Trust, and that a Bill to that effect be introduced as early as practicable."

Withdrawal of resolutions.

The following resolution standing in the name of Maulvi Azaharuddin Ahmed was, in the absence of the member, deemed to be withdrawn:—

"This Council recommends to the Government that during the outbreak of cholera, medicines like camphor pills, chlorodyne, *kundankaya churna and karpurashav*, and during the outbreak of malaria quinine pills be distributed free of cost among the people of Bakarganj, under the management of Panchayats and through chaukidars."

The following resolution standing in the name of Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Jubbar Pahlowan was, in the absence of the member, deemed to be withdrawn:—

"This Council recommends to the Government that necessary steps be taken to move the Railway Board to construct waiting rooms for females at those stations on the Eastern Bengal Railway where the same have not yet been constructed."

The following resolution standing in the name of Babu Satish Chandra Mukharji was, in the absence of the member, deemed to be withdrawn:—

"This Council recommends to the Government (*i*) that section 8 of the Cess Act (Bengal Act IX of 1880) be repealed at an early date so that all Railways be made liable to pay cesses under the said Act; and (*ii*) that the sanction of the Governor-General be obtained to repeal section 135 of the Indian Railways Act, 1890 (IX of 1890), so far as the Presidency of Bengal is concerned."

The following resolution standing in the name of Rai Mahendra Chandra Mitra Bahadur was, in the absence of the member, deemed to be withdrawn:—

"This Council recommends to the Government that steps be taken for opening dairy farms on commercial lines in all the subdivisional and district headquarters of Bengal."

The following resolution standing in the name of Babu Surendra Naravan Sinha was, in the absence of the member, deemed to be withdrawn:—

"This Council recommends to the Government that a standard of unadulterated foodstuffs of common use be prepared by experts and published for the information of the general public."

The following resolution standing in the name of Mr. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, was, in the absence of the member, deemed to be withdrawn:—

"This Council recommends to the Government that at least three Honorary Judges be appointed in the Small Causes Court, Calcutta, to deal with cases to the value of Rs. 50 and under."

The following resolution standing in the name of Maulvi Shah Syed Emdadul Haq, was, in the absence of the member, deemed to be withdrawn:—

"This Council recommends to the Government that speeches delivered in Bengali in the Legislative Council be recorded in the proceedings of the Council, preferably in full, but if that is not practicable, then in substance."

Establishment of a technological and agricultural college.

Rai JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE Bahadur: I move that "this Council recommends to the Government that a committee of 12 members to be elected by the Council by the single transferable vote be appointed to devise ways and means for the immediate establisment of a technological and agricultural college for granting degrees in consultation with the Principal, Sibpur Civil Engineering College, and the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University."

The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr, with his robust optimism, bade us not to despair. He has asked us to hope for the very greatest things next year. It was admitted that hitherto we had got nothing. Sir, "hope deferred maketh the heart sick." We have been the dupes of to-morrow from the very beginning. We have passed resolutions after resolutions but no effect whatsoever has been given to them, but they have been thrown into the waste-paper basket.

As regards the technological college for Bengal, I led a deputation to successive Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal when I got repeated promises year after year that a technological college would be established in the near future. Since then the Government appointed an Industrial Commission, and I was told again that as soon as the report of that Commission was out, we would have a technological college. I was told that this matter required great technical knowledge and investigation and therefore Government had appointed an expert committee for the purpose.

A committee, consisting of learned men, expert in industrial matters and technology, was appointed. Many lakhs of rupees were spent by Government for the purpose and they submitted their report at last recommending that a technological college should be established immediately by the Government of Bengal and by the Government of India. We brought this matter to the notice of the Government and we were told that Government were considering it Then a resolution recommending the establishment of a technological college was moved in this Council, and this Council, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the Minister in charge, passed it without a division. Our Ministers have a knack of throwing everything into the waste-paper basket. Now, Sir, we have been repeatedly told that we have got no money for the purpose of giving effect to the resolution that we have passed, but the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr has told us that for the next year we may hope to get many things and the very first thing that we shall want is the technological college for which we have been agitating for the last twenty years and which the Government has been promising for the last twenty years also. The excuse that there is no money may be a good one, but I must remind the Hon'ble Minister that his tenure of office will be only one and a half year more, and he should at lesat formulate a scheme for the establishment of a technological college. The Industrial Commission indicated the lines on which a technological college should be established and said that it should be done in consultation with the Calcutta University and the Sibpur Engineering College. But I have also asked that the committee should also include the representatives of this House. That is my suggestion. What I desire is that a committee, consisting of the Principal of the Civil Engineering College, Sibpur, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and other expert gentlemen, should be appointed to devise ways and means. I shall be told probably, "Why, we have got the Industries Department; that will do the work," but excuse the irreverence, how many of the officers of the Industries Department have ever been through the portals of a technological college? The Industries Department is a very good one, but what do they know of technological colleges? Have they ever been to a technological college in England, in France, in Germany or in America, excepting one or two boys of my Association

that are employed by them? Therefore, I say that the Industries Department is not competent to formulate a scheme. The committee must be constituted on the lines recommended by the Industrial Commission. I therefore beg to propose that a committee as indicated by me be appointed to devise ways and means for the establishment of a technological college for Bengal.

Babu INDU BHUSHAN DUTTA: I beg to support the resolution which has just been moved by Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur. The establishment of a technological college has long been recognised as one of the prime needs of this province, and therefore, it was in the fitness of things that early in the life of this Council, a resolution was passed, without a division, in spite of the opposition of the Hon'ble Minister in charge, for the establishment of a technological institution. But that resolution has unfortunately suffered the fate of many other resolutions passed by this Council. Technical education in this province is unfortunately in a rather difficult position. In addition to the difficulties, which arise for want of a good system of educatoin in this province, there is another technical difficulty which ought to be remedied at once. That difficulty is this: That the subject of technical education has been practically placed in the hands of two Hon'ble Ministers and not in the hands of one Minister. There is a Bengali saying: "*Bhager ma Ganga pawa*" (A mother who has too many sons does not get the benefit of the Ganges at the time of her death). Education being entrusted to the portfolios of more than one Minister, is in the same unfortunate position as the mother of too many children. In course of the speech, that I made in this Council, in support of the establishment of a technological institution in Calcutta, I made a definite suggestion as to how the Science College could be turned into a technological college by the establishment of some practical workshops inside the grounds of this college. The staff is there, the materials are there, and the professors were anxious to establish workshops, but the money is not forthcoming because the Science College is under the Hon'ble Minister for Education and not under the Hon'ble Minister of the Industries Department. Is this system of divided responsibility for this most important subject to be allowed to continue any longer? Somebody must take the entire responsibility of inculcating education, be it technical or primary or secondary or be it anything else. I suggest that the two Hon'ble Ministers should confer together and appoint the committee; we hope to see in the next supplementary Budget, which we have been promised, a provision for the establishment of a technological college.

MINISTER in charge of DEPARTMENT of AGRICULTURE and INDUSTRIES (the Hon'ble the Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, Khan Bahadur): I regret that I am not in a position to accept this resolution. I need not dwell on the financial position in which the

Government of Bengal find themselves. It has been discussed at great length in the last few days. Owing to our financial circumstances, many schemes which have already been worked out and which we hoped to push on during the current year have been held up. Among these schemes is that for the establishment of the Calcutta technical school.

Land has been acquired and building operations were about to commence. It was our hope that the buildings would be completed and that we should be able to open the school by the middle of 1922. Funds, however, are not available and we have been able to make no progress with the building. It is impossible now to give any indication when the school is likely to be opened, but if the taxation Bills are passed we shall push on the work as rapidly as possible.

Similarly, the scheme for the establishment of an agricultural institute at Dacca has been held up.

Land has been acquired and plans have been approved. We were about to commence building operations and money for the purpose had been voted by the Council. The surrender of that money to general savings is one of the measures of economy which the Government have been compelled to take. When we shall be able to proceed with this scheme will depend on whether this Council passes the taxation Bills which are now before it. But it is clear that when we again have money at our disposal we must first devote it to completing the schemes which have already been initiated. The foundation of the technical school is anxiously looked for by a large number of apprentices in the workshops in and about Calcutta. It is the nucleus from which we hope that a fully equipped technical institute will develop. As soon as funds are available we shall proceed with the scheme, but until the school has been built and opened as a teaching institution we cannot proceed with its expansion into a technological institute. The scheme for the establishment of an agricultural institute was initiated on the recommendation of the Legislative Council. I do not understand that it is the wish of this Council that its previous resolution should be nullified and that this very important scheme should be abandoned, nor are we in a position to abandon it. Three hundred acres of land have been acquired and are now in our possession, and as soon as funds become available building operations will commence. In these circumstances I do not think that a committee appointed to devise ways and means for the immediate establishment of a technological and agricultural college in Calcutta is likely to lead to any practical result. I may further point out that the resolution as it stands precludes Government from appointing to the committee the Director of Industries and the Director of Agriculture the two experts on whose advice the Government must largely rely. The Inspector of Technical and Industrial Institutions is also excluded although his knowledge and experience would be of the greatest value to the committee. I venture to think that without the appointment of these officers to advise and assist the committee its labour would not be of any great practical utility.

The only immediate step that we are in a position to take is to request the Director of Industries and his Advisory Board to prepare a scheme for the expansion of the technical school into a technological institute, and this I am prepared to do at once.

Rai JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE Bahadur: I am prepared to accept the suggestion of the Hon'ble Minister, and if you will kindly permit me, Sir, to add the names of the Director of Industries and the Director of Agriculture, I may move it in the amended form.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: Am I to understand that the Hon'ble Minister is going to accept the resolution?

The Hon'ble the Nawab SAIYID NAWAB ALI CHAUDHURI, Khan Bahadur: No Sir. I have already opposed the resolution in my speech. But, Sir, can the mover amend his resolution at this stage? I want a ruling from the Chair as to this.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: I think it can be done.

Then the motion as amended by the mover, viz. :- "That this Council recommends to the Government that a committee of 12 members to be elected by the Council by the single transferable vote be appointed to devise ways and means for the immediate establishment of a technological and agricultural college for granting degrees in consultation with the Principal, Sibpur Civil Engineering College, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, the Director of Industries and the Director of Agriculture" was then put to vote, and a division taken, with the following result:—

AYES.

Afzal, Nawabzada K. M. Khan Bahadur.
Aley, Mr. S. Mahbeob.
Ali, Mr. Syed Erfan.
Ali, Munshi Amir.
Ali, Munshi Ayub.
Arhamuddin, Maulvi Khandakar.
Azam, Khan Bahadur Khwaja Mohamed.
Bose, Mr. S. M.
Chaudhuri, Babu Kisheri Mohan.
Das, Babu Bhishmadev.
Dutta, Babu Indu Bhushan.
Ghose, Rai Bahadur Jogendra Chunder
Mallik, Babu Surendra Nath.
Moitra, Dr. Jatindra Nath.
Mukhopadhya, Babu Sarat Chandra.
Nasker, Babu Hem Chandra.
Roy, Babu Jogendra Nath.
Sarkar, Babu Rishindra Nath.

NOES.

Banerjea, the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath.
Biss, Mr. E. E.
Chaudhuri, the Hon'ble the Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali, Khan Bahadur.
Duval, Mr. H. P.
Goode, Mr. S. W.
Hopkyns, Mr. W. S.
Huntingford, Mr. G. T.
Huq, Maulvi Ekramul.
Hussain, Maulvi Muhammad Madassur.
Kerr, the Hon'ble Mr. J. H.
Law, Raja Reshee Case.
Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, the Hon'ble.
Mitter, the Hon'ble Mr. P. C.
Rahim, the Hon'ble Sir Abdur.
Ray, Rai Bahadur Upendra Lal.
Ray, Mr. Bijoy Prasad Singh.
Roy, Mr. Tarit Bhusan.
Salam, Khan Bahadur Abdus.
Sery, Mr. N. E.
Stark, Mr. H. A.
Stephenson, Mr. H. L.
Swan, Mr. J. A. L.
Walsh, Mr. C. P.
Wheeler, the Hon'ble Sir Henry.

The Ayes being 18 and the Noes 24, the motion was lost.

Withdrawal of resolutions

The following resolution standing in the name of Shah Syed Emdadul Haq was, in the absence of the member, deemed to be withdrawn:

"This Council recommends to the Government that orders be issued to the divisional commissioners and magistrates to the effect that a sufficient number of Mussalman officers be appointed and placed in charge of the affairs in district and subdivisional headquarters and that, where the chief officer is a Hindu, there be placed under him a Mussalman officer, and where the chief officer is a Mussalman, there should be under him a Hindu officer."

The following resolution standing in the name of Mr. Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy was, in the absence of the member, deemed to be withdrawn:—

"This Council recommends to the Government that proper measures be taken to vest the Court of Small Causes, Calcutta, with jurisdiction in respect of title to property up to the value of Rs. 2,000."

Depôts for the purchase of yarns, etc.

The following resolution stood in the name of Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur:-

"This Council recommends to the Government that immediate steps be taken for the establishment of depôts in important centres, with a central depôt at Calcutta on the co-operative or any other business basis, for the collective purchase of yarns and other raw materials for retail distribution among weavers, as well as for the sale of the manufactured products of the hand-looms to the best advantage."

The Deputy-President called upon Mr. Tarit Bhusan Roy to move the original resolution in the form in which he had given notice of an amendment.

Mr. TARIT BHUSAN RÔY: It has devolved upon me to move both this resolution which stands in the name of of Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur and my amendment. The resolution with the amendment runs as follows:

"This Council recommends to the Government that immediate steps be taken for the establishment of depôts in important centres, with a central depôt at Calcutta, on the co-operative or any other business basis, for the collective purchase of yarns and other raw materials for retail distribution among weavers, as well as for the sale of the manufactured products of the hand-looms to the best advantage, and to encourage the increased cultivation of raw materials and the production of home-spun yarn with a view to stimulate the manufacture by weavers of home-spun products on economic principles on a large scale."

[At this stage Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur entered the Council Chamber].

Mr. TARIT BHUSAN ROY: I do not think it is necessary for me to make a long speech in commending the resolution and the amendment to the acceptance of the House. Everyone knows about the high import duties that have been levied by the Government of India on manufactured articles, and of the excise duty of 7½ per cent. that has been imposed upon mill products in this country. This can lead to only one result, and that is the increase in the price of finished Indian products in this country. That being the case, I think the time has come when it is necessary to popularise the movement for the home manufacture of Indian products in this country. There was a time early in the nineteenth century when India used to export large quantities of finished products to the United Kingdom; I will place figures before the House. In 1813, Calcutta alone exported to London 2 million sterling worth of cotton goods and in 1820, Calcutta imported 2 million sterling worth of British cotton manufactures. The first import of British cotton twist was in 1823; in 1824, it was 121,000 lbs. and in 1828, it rose to 4 million lbs. It is not necessary for me to go into the history of the tariffs which were introduced early in the nineteenth century in England in order to keep out Indian cotton manufactures from the European markets. It is sufficient for my purpose to place the fact before the House that under the revised statute, after the imposition of new duties upon imported manufactured products, and the imposition of higher excise duty on mill products, the prices of piece-goods are bound to go up. What is then the remedy? The remedy we suggest is the encouragement of the cultivation of the raw materials in our own country. Sir C. E. Low, K.C.I.E., a member of the Civil Service has said, "that of all the agricultural products of India, by far the most important, from an industrial point of view, is cotton." The actual quantity produced may be increased very materially by scientific research and by an improved system of rural economics which will considerably increase the supply of manure and render more intensive cultivation possible. He is also of opinion that another fibre crop which will one day be of considerable industrial importance is the sunn hemp; it is an excellent fibre and has great possibilities. In his view, the discovery of some mechanical process of separating the fibre would render it possible to use it successfully with a greatly reduced use of water and labour. That is the view of Sir C. E. Low.

Every one knows there are two kinds of cotton the short staple and the long staple. India produces the short staple type. The various varieties of cotton grown in India are as follows: Dholleras cotton which is found in Guzerat, Baroda and Kathiawar; Broach cotton; Khandesh cotton found in Bombay, Deccan; Kumpta-Dharwar, and Sind cotton. These are the five varieties in this country. Now let us see in what quantity cotton is exported from this country, I mean raw cotton. From the Bombay Presidency the exports represented 42 per cent. of the total export in 1918-19; the quantity sent out was 952,000 bales of 400 lbs each. Madras sent out 16 per cent. of the total export, the quantity

being 360,000 bales. Burma sent 8 per cent. of the total export, the quantity being 182,700 bales. Calcutta sent out 85,000 bales of raw cotton. For five years ending in 1918-19, the average area under cotton cultivation in Bengal was 59,000 acres. In Bihar and Orissa it was 70,000 and in Assam 33,000 acres. In Bengal, as every one knows, the chief producing centres are the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the districts of Bankura and Midnapore.

I do not like to take up the time of the House by going into further details, but I would invite the attention of the Council to only one fact, and that is, the average yield of cotton per acre. In India it is 75 to 100 lbs.; in the United States it is 180 lbs.; in Egypt it is 316 to 400 lbs. That is the position. I therefore submit that it is possible by more intensive cultivation to increase the average yield per acre. It is a well-known fact that the necessity, with a growing population, for finished products has considerably increased in this country. I will not go into the debatable question as to how far the hand-loom is in a position to compete successfully with the power-loom; that is a proposition regarding which there is considerable divergence of opinion; but this I will certainly say without fear of contradiction or challenge, that there was a time early in the nineteenth century when India not only produced enough with her hand-looms for the requirements of India, but also produced a sufficient exportable surplus for the benefit of other countries.

With these words, I commend the resolution, as amended, to the acceptance of the House.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: Rai Bahadur, you may speak on your resolution as amended by Mr Tarit Bhusan Roy.

Rai RADHA CHARAN PAL Bahadur: I regret I was late by a few minutes.

The resolution is a self-contained one: Mr Tarit Bhusan Roy has read the resolution, and I would particularly draw the attention of the House to the wording of the resolution. May I offer a word of personal explanation? In connection with my work as Honorary Secretary of the District Charitable Society of Calcutta (Indian Section), we have to manage an industrial class for the training of indigent Hindu widows and orphans. In this connection I had to visit the Serampore Weaving School and other schools where local weavers are employed to turn out our local *dhoties*, and *saris*, and other products. What struck me and what has been impressed on me during my inquiries in connection with this industrial class attached to the District Charitable Society, was that no facilities at present exist for the purpose of encouraging or affording opportunities to the weavers to obtain the raw materials at wholesale prices, and also for the sale of products of those materials. In connection with the mills as you are well aware, there are agencies and the mill authorities purchase the raw materials wholesale through the agencies and again the woven products of the mills are, by contract, made over to the merchants

and other dealers who sell them retail in the market. No such facilities exist so far as the indigenous weavers are concerned. The cottage industries, in addition to the disadvantage they are already in as compared with the mills in regard to outturn are placed at a further disadvantage on account of the want of facilities to purchase raw materials, and to dispose of their articles. I had further the advantage of discussing this matter with the Principal of the Serampore Weaving School, and I have made personal inquiries into the matter, and I think the attention of the Government should be drawn to this question with a view to set up local bodies on co-operative basis, for the purchase of raw materials in different parts of the country, especially in central depôts in Calcutta. It is suggested that on a co-operative basis, such agencies, or banks, or depôts, or by what name you might call them, should be established. That is to say, 40 or 50 weavers should combine together, and if the Government helps them they will be in a position to combine and co-operate, and the yarn can be purchased wholesale at such banks, and distributed among the shareholders at wholesale prices. Great facilities will thereby be given to the weavers. At present they have to come to Calcutta all the way, for the purchase of yarn, or ask the middlemen to purchase for them. As they are mostly agriculturists, it is needless for me to speak of the inconvenience they are put to.

Then again, as regards the woven materials, the cloth, the *gamcha*, the *dhoti*, or whatever is woven, these cannot find a ready market, and they are therefore placed at a great disadvantage in regard to the disposal of these products; therefore it is necessary that these depôts or agencies should be established at different centres, with a central depôt in Calcutta, so that all the articles might be sent to a particular district, and they may be drawn upon by the central depôt in Calcutta and sold here. I think in this way the cottage industries may be largely encouraged, in fact, many of us who would like to obtain *swadeshi* stuff, do not know where to get them, and have no facilities for obtaining them, and if we can obtain them, we have to pay a very high price, and the middleman makes the most of it. I think this resolution should receive the sympathetic consideration of Government. I understand that there are district weaving schools affiliated to the central institute at Serampore; they are at Bankura, Pabna, Tangail, Khulna and Noakhali. Yarn and cloth depôts may very well be established at each of these district schools by way of experiment, and as I have suggested, there should be a central depôt at Calcutta, which might purchase yarn and other raw materials at the best price in the best market, and distribute them to the district depôts, and the central depôt might serve as a main emporium for the sale of the products collected from the district depôts and thus work both as a sale and purchase agency. I do not wish to place before the House the mass of materials which I have collected, but the simple statement which I have made will convince the Government as to the necessity of

giving facilities to these cottage industries. I understand that there are no less than 14 lakhs of weavers in Bengal, and I feel sure on the statement of an expert that if they are duly encouraged and facilities are placed in their way, so that they may be fully and efficiently employed, no less than 126 crores of yards of cloth may be woven by them every year and estimating the value of every 3 yards, at one rupee it will yield at least 40 crores of rupees, which is the figure which has been supplied to me. I think therefore that having regard to the large prospect in view, and also the relief that will be given to the agriculturist class to a certain extent and further having regard to the fact that it might tend towards solving the problem of employment, this matter ought to receive the most careful and sympathetic consideration of Government.

Babu SURENDRA NATH MALLIK: I have great enthusiasm on this subject, but my knowledge of the subject is really of a most common kind, and I do not think I shall be able to give any valuable information regarding it.

I do not think a matter like this should form the subject of a mere resolution and should be disposed of by one or two speeches. My opinion is that this is a matter which should be considered by economic experts; experts from the agricultural and co-operative and other departments should combine, and there ought to be a committee of this House to meet the Hon'ble Minister in charge, and a formal conference might be held with the help of outside experts also who would discuss the matter, and submit a report to the House. That Committee should go into the question of ways and means, and should also consider how far it is possible to go at the present moment into the question of home industries and hand-looms, as well as how far it will assist the people in the country. Therefore I suggest to my friends, who have brought forward this resolution, that if they accept this idea, they should meet the Hon'ble Minister and the departmental experts who have expert knowledge on the subject, and outside experts and other officers who could advise in this matter, who may be invited to this Conference. This will serve a more useful purpose instead of simply passing a resolution in this Council and leaving it to take its own course, because there are many details to be gone into which involve a large amount of money. We are all anxious to do what we can in this matter, not only on account of its importance, but also because it is of very vital interest to us, and may also help in the economic regeneration of the country. Therefore, I think that in an important matter like this, we ought to come before the House with all the information that we can get from all our experts, with a view to seeing if we can adopt it, throughout the province, or whether it should be taken up in different districts, or in one district or more than one. All this definite information and facts must be collected and placed before the House, before we can proceed. This is a very serious matter, and my friends who have

taken it up should look at it from this point of view, and I would ask my friends to withdraw the resolution, if necessary, for the purpose of having a committee appointed so that the committee might do justice to the situation and also assist the Council, for I am sure the Hon'ble Nawab Sahib will not yield to anybody so far as his anxiety is concerned, to see that this matter is taken up, because it is a question which I have always said is likely to help us in the economic regeneration of our country.

Khan Bahadur Maulvi WASIMUDDIN AHMED: I think this is one of the most important resolutions, and I fully support the resolution and the amendment moved by Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur and Mr. Tarit Bhusan Roy, respectively. I also endorse every word that has been said by Babu Surendra Nath Mallik that this is a resolution which cannot be allowed to rot on the shelf for some time but action should be taken at once, and that we have every faith in the activity of our Hon'ble Minister, the Hon'ble Nawab Sayyid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri and we can hope that he will take up the matter in right earnest and will give effect to it.

The cloth question is most acutely felt in the mufassal and it has become more difficult owing to the recent movement, because even this year during the *Puja* time a pair of *dhoties* was being sold at Rs. 4-8 or thereabouts. But since the non-co-operation movement and boycott of foreign goods have assumed a very vigorous aspect, the Bombay merchants have got hold of a grand opportunity, and their cloths are being sold at no less than Rs. 6 a pair. Of course, it is a good argument no doubt that our money is being kept in India, but it is very difficult to sympathise with the movement when the question of the price that has to be paid by the masses is taken into consideration. If the cultivator, who cannot find money enough to purchase cloth, has to pay Re. 1 or Re. 1-8-0 more for a pair, it will be extremely difficult for him to remain *swadeshi* for a long time. Very recently I have heard something which has added more weight to this matter. I have heard that foreign goods and foreign cloths are also being sold at a very high price under the cover of *swadeshi* goods. There was a question in this House asking whether this was a fact, but the Government reply was of course that they did not know and were not certain whether it was a fact, but there was a rumour about that. A certain merchant in a mufassal town ordered a quantity of yarns from Calcutta and when the yarns reached the station the labourers refused to take it away from the station. The importer had to bribe the coolie sardar with Rs. 250 in order to have the yarns carried to his house. The cost of the yarn was Rs. 14 per bundle, whereas the local merchants were selling it at Rs. 25 or Rs. 30; of course that man could sell it as foreign goods and afford to have a margin of profit even by selling it at Rs. 18 or Rs. 20; but as he had to pay Rs. 250 to the sardar, he had to realise this amount from the

purchasers. That was the reason why he was selling at Rs. 25 or Rs. 30; that is to say the cultivator has to pay higher price for goods which under ordinary circumstances could be had for half the price. This is only an instance and the instances could be multiplied. I have very good reason to believe that *khaddars* are being imported from foreign countries and sold under the impress of being country-made goods. If the recommendations in the resolution of the Rai Bahadur be adopted and if goods are purchased at reasonable prices and they are distributed to the weavers and other customers, it can then be reasonably expected that the cultivators and the local mufassal people will get good value for this money and will not have to pay a large amount to the middlemen as well as labourers who refuse to carry a certain description of yarns and cloth. With these words, I beg to support the resolution as well as the amendment.

Rai JOCENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE Bahadur: The resolution has much to commend itself to this Council and I would support it. But the amendment which runs—

"and to encourage the increased cultivation of raw materials and the production of home-spun yarn with a view to stimulate the manufacture by weavers of home-spun products on economic principles on a large scale"—is absolutely unintelligible and rigmarole. I do not understand the meaning of "encourage the increased cultivation of raw materials"—everybody does that. Is this a resolution? If we put in these words, we shall make ourselves look stupid before the public.

The Hon'ble the Nawab SAIYID NAWAB ALI CHAUDHURI, Khan Bahadur: The principle underlying the resolution with the amendment moved by Babu Tarit Bhusan Roy, is in accordance with the recommendations made by the Industrial Commission in connection with the development of cottage industries. In connection with the hand-loom industry the Commission has pointed out that efforts to improve the lot of the hand-loom weaver must end in failure unless attention is concentrated to a much larger extent than has hitherto been usual on commercial questions which involve the purchase of raw materials, the selection of suitable designs and patterns and the establishment of commercial agencies for the disposal of goods. Great emphasis has, therefore, been rightly laid on the last factor, *viz.*, opening of new markets for the goods produced. This brings into prominence the question of industrial co-operation and there is no doubt that if anything useful and definite is to be achieved in the direction, Co-operative Societies must largely come into play. Very little, however, has so far been done to organise the hand-loom industry on proper lines and except the Co-operative Societies among weavers which arrange for the supply of yarn to their members and sale of their finished products, notable amongst which is the Bankura District Co-operative

Industrial Union, Limited, there is no special organisation for the purpose.

I am, therefore, in agreement with the principle of the resolution and in this connection I may point out the action which Government have already taken to foster the development of such industries in this presidency. At the Conference of the Agriculture and Industries Department held in April last, the question how such industries could be organised on proper lines came up for discussion and it was suggested that the formation of sale societies and the opening of small show depôts should be important factors in the reorganisation of these industries. It was finally agreed that the Departments of Agriculture, Industries and Co-operation should follow the recommendations of the Industrial Commission regarding cottage industries. The recommendation of the conference has already been brought to the notice of the departments named above and it is hoped a scheme will be evolved ere-long showing the possibilities of development in this direction.

I again assure the member that I accept the priciple of the resolution and regard it as the duty of Government to encourage the development of hand-loom industry by the formation of sale societies on co-operative lines, but in view of the action which has been or is being taken by Government in the matter I hope the mover will not press the resolution.

Mr. TARIT BHUSAN ROY: In view of the assurance which has been given by the Hon'ble Minister, I ask for leave to withdraw both the resolution and the amendment.

The motion was then, by leave of the Council, withdrawn.

Amendment of the Bengal Medical Act.

Dr. JATINDRA NATH MOITRA: The resolution that stands in my name runs thus:—

"This Council recommends to the Government that the Bengal Medical Act of 1914 be so amended as to make the number of elected members of the Bengal Council of Medical Registration 80 per cent. of the total and that 50 per cent. of the members of the State Medical Faculty of Bengal be non-officials."

The Bengal Medical Act received the assent of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal on the 10th April, 1914, and of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General on the 6th May, 1914. This Bengal Medical Act, 1914, conferred upon the Bengal Council of Medical Registration the duties of general supervision over the interests of the medical profession and the progress of medical education and it rests with that body to decide whether the training and equipment of a school or college are such as to justify the grant of a registrable qualification to its successful students. It was thought undesirable that the functions

of this Council which was to some extent elective and a first step towards self-government of the profession should be trenched upon by any other body and a medical faculty managed by Government—known as State Medical Faculty—was established, the responsibility of which was confined to arranging the examinations of students from colleges and schools which was approved for this purpose by the Council of Medical Registration. The State Medical Faculty grants a diploma of membership and a license, the former corresponding to the L.M.S. and the latter to the certificate given by the Government medical schools. The State Medical Faculty is a purely examining body and the diploma or the license that is granted has got the weight of Government authority and the governing body is appointed by His Excellency in Council.

Now, Sir, the Council of Medical Registration under Rule 4 of Bengal Medical Act, 1914, consists of 15 members, namely:—

(*a*) A president nominated by the Local Government.

(*b*) Seven members nominated by the Local Government.

(*c*) A member to be elected from among the members of the Faculty of Medicine by the Senate of the Calcutta University.

(*d*) One member to be elected by the registered practitioners who are qualified to be registered under the Medical Acts.

(*e*) Three members to be elected by the registered practitioners who are graduates or licentiates in medicine or surgery of the Calcutta University.

(*f*) Two members to be elected by all other registered practitioners.

We thus find that out of a total of 15 members constituting this Council as many as eight are nominated and further there is no bar against the election of officials amongst the remaining seven. As a matter of fact, since the creation of this Council sometimes nine, some times ten, are Government members and thus the election of medical men in this Council has been reduced to a mere farce, as there is hardly any likelihood of passing any resolution against the vested interests of the Government servants.

This is obviously a great injustice and insult to the honesty and intelligence of the independent section of the medical profession and it is high time that this Act be amended on the lines I have indicated in my resolution. The idea of getting eight official members out of fifteen might have some value if it was possible to get different opinions amongst the nominated members; but, Sir, be it said to the credit of the officers of the Indian Medical Service that they do not know of any single question where there is likely to be a divergence of opinion amongst themselves. Sir, I have been an elected member of this Bengal Council of Medical Registration for nearly five years, but I do not remember to have come across any single instance where a single nominated member dared to differ from the view expressed by the Surgeon-General, who has

always been thought fit to be the President of this Council since its creation in 1914. Is it not a mockery of self-government, particularly to a class of highly cultured, qualified medical practitioners and will the Hon'ble Minister who combines the functions of Self-Government and Medical and Public Health realise the injustice done? Since the creation of State Medical Faculty, out of the 15 members constituting it, there have not been more than 2 members of the independent medical profession; that is to say, there is hardly any chance for an independent medical man in the right sense of the term to go into that body without receiving any favour at the hands of the Surgeon-General. I think therefore that the defect should be remedied as early as possible.

With these few words, I commend my resolution to the acceptance of the Council.

Dr. HASSAN SUHRAWARDY: I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution moved by my friend Dr Moitra He has so clearly stated the reasons for amending the existing Medical Acts with regard to membership of the Governing Body of the State Medical Faculty and the Council of Medical Registration that I need not take up the time of the House by going over the same arguments again The Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Medical and Public Health Departments has with the inauguration of the new era of Reforms, already introduced many changes, the need for which had been felt from a long time and I trust he will agree to throw open the door of election to the State Medical Faculty, entrance to which has hitherto been only by nomination of the Surgeon-General I must say that I do not object to nomination as by nomination a good man can be selected who can be trusted to do his duty My community has been represented on most bodies by Government nominations On the Council of Medical Registration, however, there is an elected Muhammadan member. I have the honour of being returned there as an elected member by the University of Calcutta, but the door of election is closed for the membership of the Governing Body of the State Medical Faculty and there is no Muhammadan on it by nomination either. I trust however, that it will not remain so for very long, and that the same rule that the Hon'ble Minister passed regarding the Membership of the Sanitary Board of Bengal will also be observed for these memberships, *viz.*, that unless a Muhammadan comes through the door of election at least one person would be nominated by Government. I wish to submit that the interests of my community should be safeguarded.

The Hon'ble Sir SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA: I may say at once that I am in sympathy with all resolutions which are calculated to advance in any form or shape the principle of self-government in connection with any of our institutions. Proceedings on this principle, this is a resolution which appeals to me. At the same time, it is only

right and proper that I should point out that the two bodies, to which the resoluion refers, have come into existence since 1914, which means that they are quite young. Again just at the present moment, there is in contemplation an all-India Act governing this particular matter. Further, the Council of Medical Education in the United Kingdom has raised the question of the inadequate training which we, in this country, impart in connection with the important subject of midwifery. These are matters which have to be considered; and further my friend, the mover of the resolution, has referred to the details of the changes which he proposes to be introduced. Well, all these matters cannot possibly be considered by a Council like this. They require detailed consideration by a small body of men. Therefore, my suggestion to my friend, the mover, is that he should withdraw the resolution and I undertake to refer this matter to the Standing Committee of which Dr. Hassan Suhrawardy and the mover are members. I hope that my friend will agree to it.

Dr. JATINDRA NATH MOITRA: In view of the assurance given by the Hon'ble Minister, I beg leave to withdraw the resolution.

The motion was then, by leave of the Council, withdrawn.

Appointments to the Judicial Service.

Rai JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE Bahadur: "This Council recommends to the Government that the suspension of appointments to the Judicial Service should be removed."

I do not want to make a speech on this matter, because I understand that the Hon'ble Sir Abd-ur-Rahim will make a statement which will be satisfactory.

MEMBER in charge of JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT (the Hon'ble Sir Abd-ur-Rahim): I may explain to the Council the position with regard to this matter. When I took over charge of my office, I found that there was a large number of men officiating as munsifs from time to time. I think at that time the number was about 65. The result was that many of these men, or most of them, could not be employed as munsifs for more than a few weeks and for the remainder of the year they had to while away their time in the barlibrary waiting for briefs. That was not a satisfactory state of things and it was thought desirable to revise the system hitherto obtaining, of appointing officiating men in the vacancies without any sort of certainty as to when the men so appointed would be made permanent. Gradually, however, I am glad to find that on suspending the appointment of munsifs—because there were not sufficient appointment to absorb the officiating men, the number came to be reduced. At the present moment, there are only 10 gentlemen who are not regularly employed and we expect

that they will very soon find employment. We have now under consideration a new scheme for the selection and appointment of munsifs and when that scheme comes into force, it will be possible to do away with the system of officiating munsifs.

As regards the suspension of appointments, I may inform the Council that every year a certain number of appointments will be made and the gentlemen who will be appointed will not have to go back to the profession but that they will be absorbed in the cadre of munsifs within two or three years. That is the position and I am sure the Rai Bahadur will see that there is no necessity for pressing the resolution.

Rai JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE Bahadur: I beg leave to withdraw the resolution.

The motion was then, by leave of the Council, withdrawn

Sale of intoxicants.

The following resolution stood in the name of Babu Surendra Narayan Sinha:—

"This Council recommends to the Government that the sale of any intoxicating article to persons under 16 years of age be prohibited."

SHAH SYED EMDADUL HAQ spoke in Bengali; the English translation of his speech is as follows:—

I crave permission in the absence of Babu Surendra Narayan Sinha to move his motion No. 99, subject to the amendment proposed in motion No. 99A standing in my name—

"This Council recommends to the Government that the sale of any intoxicating article to persons under 16 years of age and to every school and madrassa boy be prohibited.

It is ordained in our religion that all intoxicants are profane—*kulla moskurunon haramun kolidun an kasirun*. I think all religions are of one and the same opinion as regards intoxicating articles. It is more so when persons under sixteen and students of schools and madrassas are concerned. I do not like to take up the valuable time of the Council on a matter on which there will be no divergence of opinion. I therefore earnestly hope that the resolution as amended by my motion No. 99A be accepted by the House.

The Hon'ble the Nawab SAIYID NAWAB ALI CHAUDHURI, Khan Bahadur: The sale of any spirit or intoxicating drug to children under the age of 14 years is already forbidden and the vendor selling such articles to them is liable to prosecution under the Excise Act. A similar prohibition is also in force under the opium rules. Following the principle in the Bengal Juvenile Smoking Act II of 1919, I agree with the member that the age-limit should be raised to 16 years in clause (*c*)

of section 51 (*1*) of the Excise Act and in rule 18 of the rules framed under the Opium Act, and I accept the resolution. With reference to the amendment proposed by Shah Syed Emdadul Haq, I may point out that intoxicants are used by school-boys only in very exceptional cases. The amendment would be very difficult to work. A vendor can estimate a boy's age but he has no means of deciding whether a boy is attending a school or madrassa or not. I sympathise with the mover's desire to protect school-boys from the vice of intoxication, but in my opinion the substantive resolution sufficiently protects them. The great majority of school-boys in Bengal are not more than 16 years old. If, however, further protection is considered necessary, I suggest that the proper way to secure it is to raise the age-limit to 17 and not to insert the words "school or madrassa boy." I ask the Council to carry the substantive resolution without the amendment.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: The substantive resolution is not before the Council.

The Hon'ble the Nawab SAIYID NAWAB ALI CHAUDHURI, Khan Bahadur: I am sorry that I was not aware of it, as I was not then present in the Council. If Shah Syed Emdadul Haq drops the amendment, I can accept the resolution.

The Hon'ble the MAHARAJADHIRAJA BAHADUR of BURDWAN: I submit that the resolution has not been moved by any member.

The Hon'ble the Nawab SAIYID NAWAB ALI CHAUDHURI, Khan Bahadur: Then I oppose the amendment.

Rai JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE Bahadur: As the principle in the proposal has practically been accepted by the Hon'ble Minister, the only course open to him is to move for an amendment of the Act. Without that, the resolution is nothing.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: I think that there is a great difference between an amendment of the Act and the resolution.

At this stage, Shah Syed Emdadul Haq agreed to adopt the substantive resolution.

Mr. J. CAMPBELL FORRESTER: I understand that the amendment has been moved to a substantive resolution; but as the member who proposed the resolution is not here and nobody moved it in his place, I think that no amendment can be moved to the substantive resolution.

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: That is not the case. The position is that the mover of the original resolution is absent. It was open to any member to move it. No one did so, but the Shah having an amendment to the original resolution was permitted to move it in the form amended by him. The resolution as amended by the Shah is now before the House.

Rai RADHA CHARAN PAL Bahadur: Where after an amendment has been moved, if the mover of the amendment wants to omit the latter part of the resolution taken as a whole, after hearing the Hon'ble Minister in charge, cannot the mover do so with the consent of the Council?

The DEPUTY-PRESIDENT: I think that, with the consent of the Council, he can do so.

Babu RISHINDRA NATH SARKAR: I rise to a point of order. The resolution was moved with the amendment by Shah Syed Emdadul Haq. The Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Department of Excise accepts a part of the resolution without the amendment. So, it is for the Council to decide whether the amended resolution should be passed or not.

The DEPUTY PRESIDENT: If the Shah Sahib omits the amendment and only wishes that the resolution be put to the vote he can do so with the permission of the Chair and the concurrence of the House.

SHAH SYED EMDADUL HAQ spoke in Bengali; the English translation of his speech is as follows:—

As the original motion has been accepted by the Hon'ble the Minister in charge I have no hesitation to withdraw my amendment with thanks to the Minister.

The motion in the following form was then put and agreed to:

"This Council recommends to the Government that the sale of any intoxicating article to persons under 16 years of age be prohibited."

Withdrawal of resolution.

Babu KISHORI MOHAN CHAUDHURI: I understand that the question of establishing four or five medical schools in different parts of the province is now engaging the serious attention of Government, and in view of that I beg to withdraw my resolution.

The following motion was then, by leave of the Council, withdrawn:—

"This Council recommends to the Government that immediate steps be taken to establish a Medical College or School at Bhowanipore in Calcutta."

Financial distress of Bengal.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ABDUL JUBBAR PAHLOWAN: I move that "this Council recommends to the Government that a committee consisting of seven members, four of whom are to be elected from, and by, the non-official members of the Council, by means of the single transferable vote, be immediately appointed to inquire into and report

on the present financial distress of Bengal and to furnish Government with a note suggesting means to improve the condition,"

It must be admitted by everybody that the condition of the people of the country is going from bad to worse. One may very well say that we have nothing to do with the condition of the people—we must realise our taxes, etc., and govern the country, but I, as a representative of the people, cannot say so. Whenever I go to my house, I generally visit the people and ask them to improve their condition, and the answer I get from them is that that is out of their reach and that they cannot do anything unless Government help them. Since the year 1914, the condition of the common people of Bengal has become so bad that I really apprehend that within a very short time the common people of Bengal will be turned into coolies. Now that Government has thought its duty to appoint a committee to consider the circumstances of its servants and also to revise their salary, demanded or undemanded, is it not also the duty of Government to look after the poor people whose condition has been affected by the war, a war waged for the advantage of the Britisher? Apart from the advantage or disadvantage of the Britishers, I think it is their duty to look after the poor people of the country. In England, France or America whenever such a condition of things arises, committees and commissions are appointed to devise means and find remedies. But we have got Reforms and we are now acting on the same lines as those of a democratic Government, and is it not our duty to improve the condition of our people, or is it proper for us to say that we have nothing to do with the condition of the people—let them die or live?

With these few words, I appeal to the Government and to the Council in the name of humanity, in the name of justice, in the name of Jesus and in the name of Mohammed to appoint a committee with a view to affording relief to the poor people of the country at whose face whenever I look, my heart becomes full with sorrow.

The condition of these people is such that in winter they cannot have clothes to wear and in summer in the months of *Baysak* and *Jaistha* they cannot have sufficient food to eat. Is it the duty of Government only to realise taxes from these half-fed people and not to look after the improvement of their condition?

With these few remarks, I commend my resolution to the acceptance of the House.

The Hon'ble the Nawab SAIYID NAWAB ALI CHAUDHURI, Khan Bahadur: I must oppose the resolution which has been moved by Maulvi Muhammad Abdul Jubbar Pahlowan. I do not think that he has realised the magnitude of the task which he wishes the Committee to undertake. Undoubtedly there is much economic distress in Bengal affecting almost all classes of the population. It is not however confined to Bengal nor to India but is practically world-wide. It is largely no doubt an aftermath of the great war. In many countries it is being

felt much more acutely than in Bengal. To ask a committee to examine into this widespread economic distress would be to impose an impossible task on them. Nor is it likely that they could furnish Government with a note suggesting any practicable means of dealing with the situation. As I have said, the distress is not confined to Bengal. It is world-wide. Its main causes are not internal and the Government of Bengal have no means of controlling them. The problem, Sir, has many aspects and certain of these may perhaps be usefully examined. One of these aspects will be dealt with later in a resolution to be moved by Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur, namely, the problem of middle-class unemployment and how it can be remedied. If the Council consider that that aspect of the question can be usefully considered by a committee, I am prepared to accept its recommendation. But I ask the Council to reject this resolution as imposing on the Committee an impossible task and one which can have no practical result.

Maulvi MUHAMMAD ABDUL JUBBAR PAHLOWAH: The Hon'ble Minister has said that it is an impossible task and that it is beyond his power. I think it may be beyond his power as he says, but in my opinion it is not beyond his power. Had I been in his position I would have said that it was not beyond my power, and would have surely appointed a committee to devise means for the purpose of giving relief to the poor people. I know that most of the members have come here by securing the votes of the common people and they now seem to have forgotten them. I am not however sorry for that, but time will come when these people will realise what sort of representatives they have got. I press my resolution whatever may be the result.

The motion was then put and lost.

Relations between officials and influential persons in the mufassal.

SHAH SYED EMDADUL HAQ: "This Council recommends to the Government that special orders be issued to the divisional commissioners and district magistrates to the effect that subdivisional officers, and especially circle officers of the Chaukidari department, shall not partake of the hospitality of, and have intimate friendly relations with influential persons in the mufassal and that, immediately on receipt of any news or complaint of any injustice being alleged to be done under the influence of such hospitality, a special inquiry be held into such complaints."

The mover spoke in Bengali. His speech, translated, is as follows:—

It is very often found that circle and subdivisional officers partake of the hospitality of influential men when they are on tour in the mufassal. This hospitality sometimes comes out of some motives and sometimes out of a sense of delicacy, but there is but one outcome in all such cases that these officers often become attached to their hosts and do not shrink from complying with their requests at the expense of their sense of honour and impartial judgment. The munsifs and these officers are of the same

standard but few are the complaints against the former, but those against the latter are of frequent occurrences. Instances of dismissal, discharges degradation, and even of imprisonment can be found recorded against these executive officers. The reason is that the members of the Bengal Judicial Service very seldom go out of the station and very few chances are there for them being influenced. I do not see any reason why the practice complained of should not be stopped. The executive officers are well-paid. They are given travelling allowance, halting and mileage. They can do without being guests of anybody. There are *dâk* bungalows within a reasonable distance from every place, they travel with orderlies and most of them have got cycles, boats and other vehicles of easy conveyance. I do not like to speak any more on the evils arising out of the hospitality. I shall finish this part of the resolution with one sentence more. In the estimation of the people, as we used to hear in our younger days, these officers (*hakims*) were, as it were, fathers and mothers of people. But gradually that regard is dying out. Under the benign British rule, as it was in the past, people were so confident that they thought that lambs and tigers could drink together. That rule which acquired so much fame is being gradually brought into odium by indiscreet acts of individual officers People do not get their grievances redressed if they complain against these officers to the Magistrate of the district. The head of the district thinks that his subordinate officers are beyond corruption and their orders and decisions are unquestionable. Here is an instance which I am quoting—I have got an answer to-day to a question of mine. I find that the Magistrate, though asked for by me as a member of the Council, did not think it right to hold a personal inquiry, but took the report of his subordinate as a piece of inviolable truth. Now imagine when I failed to have the matter set right how can a poor peasant dare to go up with his complaints? If an inquiry were instituted it might have been found out that the wrongs were the outcome of hospitality and influence. Formerly there was only one Magistrate in charge of the executive functions of an entire district including subdivisions and all matters used to be properly inquired into. I know, for example, that Mr. Webster, now Commissioner of the Surma Valley and Hill division in Assam, used, when holding the post of district officer in Tippera, to go out of his own accord in the village fairs bazars, *hâts*, etc., to inspect the actions of his subordinate officers and he was never found amiss to set a matter right. But at the present day when acts of injustice are running ramipant very few inquiries are held by higher officers. I fail to understand why these highly-paid officers are required if the actions of the subordinate officers are not properly supervised.

The Hon'ble the MAHARAJADHIRAJA BAHADUR of BURDWAN: I rise to a point of order. The resolution before the Council is quite different from what the gentleman is saying just now. He is speaking of the big salaries of the District Magistrates and other official, but the resolution has nothing to do with them.

Babu SURENDRA NATH MALLIK: He says that these Magistrates ought not to partake of the hospitality of others as they are in receipt of princely salaries.

The Deputy-President then explained to the mover the point of order raised by the Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan to which he replied that what he meant was that as these officials were in receipt of big salaries they should not partake of the hospitality of others.

SHAH SYED EMDADUL HAQ: I think I have every right to speak out when through want of inquiries people cannot get their wrongs righted. I am not asking for the curtailment of the pay of the Indian Civil Service, but I only desire to see that they work commensurately with the money they draw. I have much to say, but I do not like to tire the members out. I have only to urge that all complaints against subordinate officers should be looked into by the Commissioners and Magistrates, no matter such complaints come from members of the Legisaltive Council or the humblest of the peasants or reach the superior officers through letters signed or anonymous. With these few words, I move for the acceptance of the resolution.

Rai RADHA CHARAN PAL Bahadur: I should like to say a few words on the resolution that has been moved. It is said that this Council is a democratic Council and that is fully illustrated to-day by the speech of the previous speaker. He is a gentleman who has come, I may say, from the masses, and he has laid bare certain facts with an emphasis and an earnestness, which deserve the admiration of his colleagues. I must say that what he has stated ought to be translated for the information of the Government Bench. What he has stated is this: that the District Magistrates and other officers who go to the mufassal, being the guests of rich and influential people, being entertained with *polaos*, *korma* and minced goat meat and all that, do not generally take that interest and pay that attention to the complaints of others, who are not in good terms with the rich people; and, in this connection, it is necessary to mention that he has paid a glowing tribute to Mr. Webster, the District Magistrate, who mixed with the people, who inquired into their needs and who, in fact, entered into their hearts. I think that shows that his representation to this Council is a perfectly impartial and genuine one. I think, Sir that, although the resolution may, to a certain extent, be modified, the sense of the resolution ought to be impressed upon the Government, and that, whether the resolution is accepted by Government or not, I am sure the observations that have been brought to light will lead the Government to inquire into the matter, and to see that no injustice is done to the poor people who are toiling and moiling in the distant corners of mufassal.

The Hon'ble Sir HENRY WHEELER: So far as I understand, a good many of the arguments that have been put forward by the mover

are scarcely relevant to the resolution, and I propose to confine myself strictly to its terms. I have no doubt that the resolution has been moved with the best of motives, in the desire to do anything that is possible to ensure the fulfilment of the wish of us all that justice should be done to all and sundry, whether high or low, without prejudice or regard to any other consideration than the ascertained facts. To that extent there is, of course, no objection, but since the resolution asks us to issue special orders of a somewhat curious character, we cannot accept it as it stands. It is often alleged as a criticism against officials that they stand aloof from the people and never mix freely with those who reside within their jurisdiction. That is an old complaint, and no one is more cognisant of it than myself, since when I was Secretary to the Decentralization Commission, this was the favourite hare that was set running at almost every station we visited. This resolution, on the other hand, suggests that officials should stand aloof and that they should not have ordinary social relations with people who are described as "influential"—a vague term which it would be very difficult to define in any order which Government might seek to communicate. But that officials should stand aloof is precisely what they have been criticised in the past for doing, while Government have always encouraged its officers to be on friendly terms with all classes of people within their charge—an attitude which I take it will commend itself to the Council. The position is well understood by our officers, and it would materially cut across anything in the nature of friendly social relations if we were to put out orders on the lines of this resolution. After all would it not be a slur upon a very honourable body of officers against whose work there is no valid reason for complaint? The resolution attacks in particular those officers who are in charge of small units—subdivisions and circles—and they are the very officers for whom it is possible to make acquaintanceship with the people within their jurisdiction. It is not possible for an officer who is in charge of a big district to be closely acquainted with all the people under his charge, but with circle officers and subdivisional officers it is otherwise, and if the Council will study the literature about their appointment they will see that one of the chief objects of their appointment was that they should go from village to village, meeting leading men and helping them in the matters of administration which come within their purview.

I am quite willing to communicate the proceedings of the Council in this matter to our Commissioners and district officers, but I do not think, nor do I fancy the Council will think either when they come to consider the matter more fully, that there is any need for special orders. Still less is there any need for an injunction that a special inquiry should be held if any allegation or complaint is made of injustice as having been done under the influence of hospitality. The implied slight to our officers is obvious, and while there is nothing easier than to make a vague allegation of this kind, which is characteristic of many affidavits which are filed in our courts, it is not fair on an officer that he should be forthwith exposed

to a special inquiry into his conduct on such vague allegations. Therefore, Sir, as far as the issue of a special order is concerned, I cannot agree to do so, but, as I have said, I am perfectly willing to communicate the proceedings of this Council to the officers concerned.

SHAH SYED EMDADUL HAQ spoke in Bengali. His speech, translated, is as follows:—

On the assurance given by the Hon'ble the Member in charge that he will take steps in the matter, I thank the Member from the bottom of my heart, and withdraw the motion.

The motion was then, by leave of the Council, withdrawn.

Judicial Service.

Rai JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE Bahadur: I move that "this Council recommends to the Government that appointments to the Judicial Service should be made among the best qualified barristers and pleaders available, with the sole object of securing efficient and impartial administration of justice without regard to any other consideration."

The resolution speaks for itself and there is no necessity for me to press it as I understand the Hon'ble Sir Abd-ur-Rahim will make a statement.

The Hon'ble Sir ABD-UR-RAHIM: As regards appointments to the Judicial Service the appointments are made under statutes, partly under the Government of India Act and partly under the Acts relating to the Judicial Service. So far as the members of the Indian Civil Service are concerned, there is a certain number of appointments of District and Sessions Judges set apart for the Service.

As regards the munsifs, they are nominated by the High Court and the Bengal Government appoint them on the recommendation of the Hon'ble the High Court.

The Subordinate Judges are appointed from the ranks of munsifs. They are appointed on the recommendation made by the Hon'ble the High Court and the Bengal Government act upon this recommendation. There are again a number of appointments listed as open to the officers of the Bengal Civil Service (Judicial). The officers selected for these posts are appointed by Government also mainly on the recommendation by the High Court.

As regards the munsifs, the procedure adopted by the High Court is, as I explained to the House the other day, that they have a small committee who make the selection, then it comes to a larger committee and ultimately it comes to Government who appoint the High Court's nominees. Beyond this, we have no hand in the matter. The qualifications required of the candidates are laid down in the prescribed rules. They must be graduates of the University, graduates of Law and they are required to have practised in the profession for three years. The present

rules are now being revised and a new system of appointment is likely to be inaugurated. I take it that the High Court, so far as the appointment of munsifs is concerned, secures the best men available in the profession.

As regards the appointment of Subordinate Judges from among munsifs, that depends upon the nature of the work done by them. That is the position, Sir, and I doubt if the mover will want to press his resolution.

Rai JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE Bahadur: For the reasons explained by the Hon'ble Member I do not think I need press the resolution. I therefore beg to withdraw it.

The motion was then, by leave of the Council, withdrawn.

Reorganisation of the Board of the Department of Agriculture.

Rai RADHA CHARAN PAL Bahadur: I move that "this Council recommends to the Government that immediate steps be taken to reorganise the existing Board of the Agricultural Department, Bengal, in such a way that at least half the members of the said body be representatives of the non-official community interested in agriculture."

I do not wish to dwell at length on the resolution. As far as I understand, steps are being taken to reorganize the existing Board of the Agricultural Department, and I have reason to believe that my resolution, whether it is accepted or not, will meet with a sympathetic response from the Hon'ble Minister in charge. I therefore do not wish to take up the time of the Council specially as I find that the members are anxious to go away.

The Hon'ble the Nawab SAIYID NAWAB ALI CHAUDHURI, Khan Bahadur: The question of the reconstitution of the Board of the Agricultural Department is already engaging my attention. At the last meeting of the Board I announced my intention to reconstitute the Board on a more popular and representative basis and steps are already being taken to give effect to this. I therefore accept the principle of the resolution subject to the reservation that full discretion should be left to Government to fix the number of non-official members on the Board.

Rai RADHA CHARAN PAL Bahadur: As the Hon'ble Minister has been pleased to assure us that he is already doing that, I am prepared to withdraw it.

The resolution was then, by leave of the Council, withdrawn.

Adjournment.

As there was no quorum the Council then adjourned till 3 P.M. on Wednesday, the 8th March, 1922, at the Town Hall, Calcutta.

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APPENDIX TO VOL. VII, No. 3.

The following Questions were put and answered at the meeting on the 1st March, 1922, immediately before the discussion of the Budget.

Starred Questions

(to which oral answers were given.)

Midnapore Zamindary Company.

***XXII. Mr. SYED ERFAN ALI** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Political Department be pleased to state whether a special police force was deputed for the protection of the private properties of the Midnapore Zamindary Company in the Rajshahi district during a part of last year on the said Company applying for the same to the Government?

(*b*) If the reply to (*a*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to state whether the said Company undertook to pay all the expenses arising out of the deputation of the said police force?

(*c*) If the answer to (*a*) is in the negative, have the Government charged the expenditure incurred on this account to public revenue?

(*d*) What is the total amount of money spent on this head?

(*e*) Will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to state how many acres of khas mahal land in the Rajshahi district have been leased out by the Collector and his subordinates to the European officers of the Midnapore Zamindary Company during the last three years?

(*f*) Will the Government be pleased to state the reasons for leasing out these lands to the officials of the zamindars?

(*g*) Are the Government aware of the feeling that exists that the claims of the raiyats have been overlooked?

(*h*) Are the Government considering the desirability of making an inquiry into the matter?

The Hon'ble Sir HENRY WHEELER: (*a*) A police force was, on the application of the Midnapore Zamindary Company, sent to Bilmaria and its neighbourhood in the district of Rajshahi between the months of May and November, 1921. This was necessitated by the dangerous state of feeling for which the agitation of the non-co-operators was mainly responsible. The police force was sent for the general preservation of law and order.

(*b*) The Company did not undertake to pay the expenses of the force.

(*c*) The normal cost of the Police is a public charge.

(*d*) The only charge incurred has been on account of the travelling allowances of constables deputed to duty in the mufassal, which is a part of their ordinary work, and no separate account has been kept.

(*e*) No khas mahal land in the district of Rajshahi has been leased to the European officers of the Company during the last three years.

In view of the answer to (*e*), questions (*f*) and (*g*) do not arise.

(*h*) Government do not consider that any inquiry is necessary.

Budgeted provision for reorganisation of Provincial Educational Service.

***XXIII. Maulvi ABDUL KARIM:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Minister in charge of the Department of Education be pleased to state whether the amount of Rs. 7½ lakhs budgeted for the current year for the reorganisation of the educational services below the Provincial Educational Service, has been utilised wholly or in part, or is intended to be utilised within the current financial year for the purpose for which it was sanctioned?

(*b*) If the amount has not been utilised or is not likely to be utilised during the current financial year, are the Government considering the desirability of making provision in the next year's budget for this amount in addition to any amount that may be necessary for the same purpose?

(*c*) Will the Hon'ble the Minister be pleased to state the amount which it is proposed to provide for the next year (1922-23) to meet the excess expenditure that would be necessary, in giving effect to the reorganisation scheme of the educational services below the Bengal Educational Service?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble the Minister be pleased to state whether any amount out of the Rs. 7½ lakhs mentioned in (*a*) has been utilised for any purpose other than that for which it was meant?

(*e*) If so, how much has been spent and for what purposes has the same been spent?

The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. MITTER: (*a*) It has not been utilised, but its utilisation in whole or part during the current financial year is probable.

(*b*) The necessary amount for the payment of increased salaries of the educational services below the Provincial Educational Service during the next financial year is being included in the budget. If any further

amount is necessary for the payment of arrears owing to late issue of orders, it will be asked for in a supplementary vote of Council.

(*c*) Ten lakhs of rupees.

(*d*) No.

(*e*) The question does not arise.

Newspapers.

***XXIV. Babu DEVENDRA LAL KHAN:** (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Political Department be pleased to lay on the table a list of—

(*i*) newspapers, both English and vernacular, that the Government of Bengal subscribe to, together with the number of copies taken of each such paper;

(*ii*) newspapers in Bengal whose security has been forfeited either once or oftener and the sum forfeited each time;

(*iii*) newspapers in Bengal that had to supply security at any time during the life of the paper and that still do so; and

(*iv*) dailies, weeklies, monthlies and other periodicals published in Bengal showing the places from where they are published?

(*b*) Is there any paper in Bengal that is published unregistered? If so, what is the name of that paper?

(*c*) Is any newspaper subsidised by the local Government? If so, which paper is so subsidised and how much is paid as subsidy?

The Hon'ble Sir HENRY WHEELER: (*a*) Statements I, II and III are laid on the table; Statement IV is laid on the library table.

Securities taken from, or forfeited by, presses, are not included

(*b*) Government has no information of the existence of any such paper.

(*c*) No.

Statement I, showing names and number of copies of newspapers subscribed for by the Government of Bengal, referred to in the reply to clause (a) of starred question No. XXIV.

Name of newspaper.	Total number of copies subscribed for by Government.
Moslem Hitaishi	1
Dacca Gazette	3
Civil and Military Gazette	4
Statesman	13
Englishman	13

Name of newspaper	Total number of copies subscribed for by Government.
Empire	5
Amrita Bazar Patrika	13
Indian Daily News	5
Telegraph	1
Capital	10
Pioneer	8
Behar Herald	1
Indian Planters' Gazette	1
Indian Mirror	7
Leader	5
Wednesday Review	1
Darjeeling Advertiser	2
Indian Military Record	1
Hindu Patriot	2
Bengalee	13
Herald, Dacca	9
Calcutta Review	2
East, Dacca	3
Hindusthan Review	1
Commerce	4
Times of India	5
Servant (daily)	6
Progress	3
Modern Review	3
Biswabarta	2
Bengal Economic Journal	3
Mussalman	5
Justice, Madras	1
Independent, Allahabad	1
Observer, Lahore	1
Zamana	1
Daur-i-Jadid	1
Catholic Herald of India	1
Epiphany	1
Jyoti	2
The Indian Antiquary	1
New India, Madras	2
Bombay Chronicle	1
Mohammadi	1
Indian Review	1
Express	1
Bengal Past and Present	1
Eastern Mail	1

Statement II, showing the names of newspapers in Bengal whose securities have been forfeited and the sums forfeited in each case, referred to in the reply to clause (a) of starred question No. XXIV.

Name of newspaper	Amount of security forfeited.
	Rs.
1. Hablul Matin (Urdu edition) ...	500 (once only.)
2. Nakkash ...	1,000 (once only.)

Statement III, showing the names of newspapers in Bengal which deposited security and whose securities are still in deposit, referred to in the reply to clause (a) of starred question No. XXIV.

Name of newspaper.
1. Nayak, weekly, Calcutta
2. Sanjibani, Calcutta
3. Viswamitra, Calcutta
4. The Dainik Bharat Mitra, Calcutta
5. East, Dacca.
6. Kalyani, Jessore.
7. Daur-i-Jadid, Calcutta
8. Servant, Calcutta
9. Bijali, Calcutta.
10. Alahuq, Rangpur.
11. Standard Beater, Calcutta.
12. Asr-i-Jadid, Calcutta.
13. Rashtriya Gorakshya, Calcutta
14. Namasudra, Dacca.

Deputation of the People's Protection Committee to discuss questions of political importance.

***XXV. Rai RADHA CHARAN PAL Bahadur:** (*a*) Is the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Political Department aware of the fact that the People's Protection Committee, Calcutta, provisionally appointed a deputation of a few leading representative public men of Bengal to wait upon His Excellency the Governor some time towards the first part of January last, with reference to such questions of public importance as the occurrences at Entally and Mechuabazar towards the end of last year, the alleged excesses of the Police, the Military and the Civil Guard, and the reported ill-treatment of political prisoners in jail and outside?

(*b*) Is it a fact that the said deputation failed to secure the necessary permission for an interview?

(*c*) If the answers to (*a*) and (*b*) are in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to state what steps, if any, have been taken in regard to those public grievances?

(*d*) Will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to state whether it is a fact that complaints with regard to the alleged desecration of a mosque at Mechuabazar, assaults on, and loot of the property of, many inhabitants in the neighbourhood by the Police on the 26th December, 1921, were verbally addressed to the Hon'ble the Member by a few leading men of the locality?

(*e*) Is it not a fact that the Hon'ble the Member was pleased to promise an inquiry into the allegations made?

(*f*) If the answer to (*e*) is in the affirmative, will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to state whether any regular inquiry, departmental or otherwise, has been held?

(*g*) If so, what steps, if any, have been taken by the Government on the result of the inquiry?

(*h*) Will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to lay on the table a copy of the report of the inquiry, if any, referred to in (*g*)?

The Hon'ble Sir HENRY WHEELER: (*a*) and (*b*) It is understood that an application was made by certain gentlemen to the Private Secretary for an interview with His Excellency to discuss these questions and that the interview did not take place

(*c*) to (*h*) The member is referred to the *communiqué* published in the papers on the 16th February, and to my speech in Council on the 21st February. It is not proposed to publish Mr. Bird's report.

Alleged grace marks in the last M. A. examination.

***XXVI. Rai UPENDRA LAL RAY Bahadur:** Will the Hon'ble the Minister in charge of the Department of Education be pleased to state—

(*i*) whether at the last M. A. examination in English, any additional marks were given to certain successful candidates as a matter of grace;

(*ii*) if so, the reasons for giving such grace marks and the number of such grace marks;

(*iii*) the total number of students who got first class in that examination; and

(*iv*) what would have been the said number if no grace marks were given?

The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. MITTER: The University has informed Government that confidential matters connected with University Examinations especially discussion at meetings of Boards of Examiners are not made public, and the University will not depart from this established rule. Government fully approve of the University's attitude in the matter.

Unstarred questions

(answers to which were laid on the table.)

Muhammadans in the upper division of the Secretariat.

197. Maulvi SAIYID HOSSAIN ALY: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Appointment Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing-

(*i*) the total sanctioned strength in the upper division of the various departments of the Secretariat (including the Legislative Department) as it stood on 1st July, 1921;

(*ii*) the total sanctioned strength in the upper division of the offices of the various heads of departments and attached offices including

(1) the Board of Revenue, Bengal,

(2) the office of the Director of Industries, Bengal,

(3) the office of the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta,

(4) the office of the Collector of Income-Tax, Calcutta, and

(5) the Calcutta Collectorate;

(*iii*) the number of these appointments held by Muhammadans and non-Muhammadans respectively; and

(*iv*) the number of permanent vacancies that occurred in the upper division of the various offices referred to above during the last five years with the names and qualifications of the persons appointed to fill these vacancies?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the names, qualifications and the present pay of all assistants in the upper division of the various offices referred to above?

The Hon'ble Sir HENRY WHEELER: Statements giving the information required are laid on the Library table.

Waiting rooms at Nandibazar steamer station in Bakarganj.

198. SHAH SYED EMDADUL HAQ: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Marine Department aware that inconvenience is felt by the passengers for want of waiting rooms for males and females at the Nandibazar steamer station connecting the Barisal-Dacca and Barisal-Tarpassa steamer services?

(*b*) Are the Government considering the desirability of drawing the attention of the Rivers Steam Navigation Company to this matter?

The Hon'ble Mr. KERR: (*a*) Government are informed that there is a waiting room at Nandibazar and that the Steamer Company have received no complaints of any inconvenience suffered by passengers there.

(*b*) The Company have already been addressed in the matter with the result stated above.

Patuakhali mail service arrangements.

199. Maulvi FAZLAL KARIM: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Department of Commerce aware that the Calcutta mail reaches Barisal by the Khulna express steamer between 8 and 9 A.M. and that the mail for Patuakhali leaves Barisal on the next morning?

(*b*) Is the Hon'ble the Member also aware that an express steamer leaves Barisal for Patuakhali every day at 6 P.M.?

(*c*) Are the Government considering the desirability of asking the Rivers Steam Navigation Company to make arrangements for despatching the Calcutta mail for Patuakhali by the Patuakhali express steamer 12 hours in advance of the ordinary mail?

The Hon'ble Mr. KERR: (*a*) and (*b*) The bulk of correspondence from Calcutta to Patuakhali including all packets parcels and money-orders is transmitted by mail train and steamer according to timings which are as follows:—

Calcutta	...	...	dep.	21-00	1st day.
Barisal	...	...	arr	20-45	2nd day.
Barisal	...	...	dep	4-0	3rd day.
Patuakhali	...	...	arr.	9-30	Do.

A subsidiary despatch to Barisal containing only uninsured articles of the letter mail, and very small in volume is carried by express train and steamer as follows:—

Calcutta	...	...	dep.	14-24	1st day.
Barisal	...	...	arr.	8.30	2nd day.

An express steamer leaves Barisal at 17-30 and reaches Patuakhali at 24 hours, but in view of the small quantity of mail matter for Patuakhali in the subsidiary despatch, the cost that would be involved in its immediate transmission by the express steamer is not considered justifiable. Moreover, as by such transmission, the mail would arrive at midnight, it would not be convenient to deliver it separately from the chief mail of the day now arriving at 9-30.

(c) For the reasons stated above, no change in the present arrangements is contemplated.

Court-fees realised in the High Court, Original Side.

200. Maulvi HAMID-UD-DIN KHAN: Will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Judicial Department be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing—

(i) the actual collection of court-fees on suits instituted on the Original Side of the Calcutta High Court under the present system; and

(ii) what would have been the collection from the same source if *ad valorem* court-fees had been charged on them for the last 3 years, year by year?

The Hon'ble Sir ABD-UR-RAHIM: (i) The average of last three years' collection is Rs. 4,03,788-10-0.

(ii) It is not possible in the time available to calculate the actual amount of court-fees that would have been realised had the *ad valorem* scale under the Court-Fees Act been applicable to the Original Side.

Travelling allowances paid to clerks in Barisal to counteract the anti-Government propaganda of agitators.

201. Babu SURENDRA NATH MALLIK: (a) Has the attention of the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Appointment Department been drawn to the statement made by Mr. B. C. Patterson, I.C.S., lately the district Judge of Bakarganj, in his evidence before Babu Rajendra Lal Sadhu, Sub-Judge of Barisal, in Miscellaneous case No. 63 of 1921?

(b) Is it true that ministerial officers in Government service at Barisal were employed for the purpose of preaching approved politics in the villages? If so, was that done with the approval of Government?

(c) Is it a fact that these ministerial officers were paid travelling allowance for such extra-official activity?

(d) If so, at what rate were they paid and from which fund?

(*e*) Were such allowances paid with the sanction of the Government?

(*f*) If so, will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the total amount spent on this work with details to show the respective amounts drawn by each of them?

The Hon'ble Sir HENRY WHEELER: (*a*) Government have seen the statement referred to.

(*b*) Ministerial officers of Government at Barisal when touring on other Government work were encouraged to use their influence to counteract the anti-Government propaganda of agitators. They were not sent out specially for this purpose. This action has the approval of Government.

(*c*) No. Ministerial officers were paid travelling allowance only in respect of their official duties.

(*d*) They were paid at the ordinary rate admissible under the Civil Service Regulations and from the usual sources.

(*e*) and (*f*) These questions do not arise.

Removal of Book Depôt to Chetla.

202. Rai MAHENDRA CHANDRA MITRA Bahadur: (*a*) In connection with the Hon'ble the Finance Member's statement in the Bengal Legislative Council on 22nd March, 1921 (page 387, Volume I, No. 5 of the Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings), that the public would not be put to the slightest inconvenience by the removal of the Press to Chetla as Government publications would continue to be stocked at Writers' Buildings, will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Department of Finance be pleased to state whether the statement meant that the idea of the removal of the Book Depôt to Chetla had been abandoned or merely that a small sale office would be located at the Writers' Buildings?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to state what is the estimated cost of construction of the portion of the building, which will be occupied by the Book Depôt at Chetla?

(*c*) What will be the cost of construction of the racks and furniture in the new building at Chetla for the Book Depôt?

(*d*) Are the Government considering the desirability of saving the greater portion of this amount by locating the Book Depôt in the east wing of the Writers' Buildings when the Press is removed to Chetla, the existing racks in the west wing being taken down and reconstructed in the east wing?

The Hon'ble Mr. KERR: (*a*) and (*b*) The member is referred to the answer given to his unstarred question No. 202 at the September meeting of Council.

(*c*) No estimate has yet been framed.

(*d*) No. The Book Depôt, as the distributing agency of the Press, will be most suitably located in the Press buildings, and the space now occupied by the Depôt in Writers' Buildings is required for the accommodation of the Secretariat departments, and, if possible, for heads of administrative departments who at present occupy hired premises.

Economy in expenditure.

203. Raj MAHENDRA CHANDRA MITRA Bahadur: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Department of Finance aware that the Government of Bombay have invited the attention of all departmental heads to the necessity of practising the utmost economy in expenditure by avoiding all non-essential charges, including travelling by officers and restricting leave, in order to reduce the current year's total charges and for improving the closing balances?

(*b*) Is the Hon'ble the Member also aware that the action of the Government of Bombay has been expressed as being due to the fact that the cost of administration has reached an embarrassingly high figure in the present state of provincial finance, which will necessitate the early adoption of steps either to raise more revenue or to reduce the facilities and services by drastic measures to such standards as the Government can afford?

(*c*) Are the Government considering the desirability of adopting the Bombay procedure by similarly inviting the attention of the heads of all departments of public services in Bengal to practise the utmost economy by avoiding all non-essential charges of the kind indicated by the Bombay Government during the current and coming official year?

The Hon'ble Mr. KERR: (*a*) and (*b*) Government have seen the statement to this effect that have appeared in the Press.

(*c*) Instructions were issued by the Bengal Government last October that rigid economy must be exercised in all departments.

Move of the Hon'ble the Members and Ministers to Darjeeling.

204. Babu JOGENDRA NATH ROY: (*a*) Will the Hon'ble the Member in charge of the Political Department be pleased to state what effect has been given to the resolution on the Hill exodus carried by the Council on the 8th February last?

(*b*) Will the Hon'ble the Member be pleased to state how many times each Member of the Executive Council and each Minister has visited Darjeeling since the passing of the resolution, and the cost of these visits?

The Hon'ble Sir HENRY WHEELER: (*a*) Copy of Political Department Memorandum No. 5122 P., dated the 16th April, 1921, on the subject is laid on the table.

(*b*) A statement giving the information available is laid on the table.

Memorandum referred to in the reply to clause (a) of unstarred question No. 204.

No. 5122P., dated Calcutta, the 16th April, 1921.

Memorandum by—A. CASSELLS, Esq., I.C.S., Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Political Department

As a result of the discussions on a resolution moved in the Bengal Legislative Council on the 8th February, 1921, regarding the move of Government to Darjeeling, the whole question has again been considered, and in supersession of all previous orders on the subject, the Governor in Council is pleased to lay down the following policy to be adopted in future —

(*a*) The Secretariat will not move, as such, and any clerical staff taken to Darjeeling must be reduced to a minimum

(*b*) The period of total stay of all officers in Darjeeling will be curtailed

Subject to the observance of these general principles, the Governor in Council leaves it to each Member and Minister to use his own discretion as to the time and duration of his own visits to Darjeeling, and as to those of the Secretary or Head of a Department with whom he is concerned In cases where a Secretary has relations with more than one Member or Minister, the Member or Minister who is chiefly concerned should inform his colleagues of his intentions in the matter. Each Member or Minister should keep His Excellency informed in due course of the arrangements which he proposes, both in his own case and that of the staff subordinate to him

Statement showing the journeys made to Darjeeling by Hon'ble Members and Ministers in 1921 and cost thereof, referred to in the reply to clause (b) of unstarred question No. 204.

Name of Member or Minister.	Date of journey.	Cost of journey.		
		Rs.	A	P.
The Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler	May, 1921, from Calcutta to Darjeeling.	307	13	3
	28th May, 1921, from Darjeeling (Goalundo to Darjeeling) to Chandpur and back again on 3rd June, 1921.	140	5	0
	June, 1921, from Darjeeling to Calcutta.	357	5	3
	September, 1921, from Calcutta to Darjeeling.	215	15	9
	October, 1921, from Darjeeling to Calcutta *	.....		

* Not yet adjusted.

Name of Member or Minister.	Date of journey.	Cost of journey. Rs.	A.	P.
The Hon'ble Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan	May, 1921, from Calcutta to Darjeeling.	578	11	0
	June, 1921, from Darjeeling to Calcutta	1,024	5	0
	September, 1921, from Calcutta to Darjeeling.	788	2	0
	October, 1921, from Darjeeling to Calcutta *	.....		
The Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Kerr ...	April, 1921, from Calcutta to Darjeeling.	409	11	6
	May, 1921 from Darjeeling to (Siliguri) Calcutta	133	10	6
	May, 1921, from Calcutta to Darjeeling	285	14	9
	June, 1921, from Darjeeling to Calcutta	416	3	3
	September 1921, from Calcutta to Darjeeling.	234	11	6
	October, 1921, from Darjeeling to Calcutta.*	.....		
The Hon'ble Sir Abd-ur-Rahim	May, 1921, from Calcutta to Darjeeling.	333	15	6
	May, 1921, from Darjeeling to Calcutta.	303	10	3
	June, 1921, from Calcutta to Darjeeling	512	15	6
	June, 1921, from Darjeeling to Calcutta	394	8	3
	September, 1921, from Calcutta to Darjeeling	518	5	0
	October, 1921, from Darjeeling to Calcutta.*	.....		
The Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea.	May, 1921, from Barrackpore to Darjeeling	492	14	3
	June, 1921, from Darjeeling to Calcutta.	620	4	6
	September, 1921, from Barrackpore to Darjeeling.	592	8	0
	September, 1921, from Darjeeling to Barrackpore	250	6	5
	October, 1921, from Barrackpore to Darjeeling.	518	1	0
	October, 1921, from Darjeeling to Dinajpur.*	.....		
	October, 1921, from Dinajpur to Darjeeling.*	.....		
	October, 1921, from Darjeeling to Barrackpore.*	.....		

* Not yet adjusted.

Name of Member or Minister.	Date of journey	Cost of journey. Rs.	A.	P.
The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter ...	May, 1921, from Calcutta to Darjeeling.	470	0	6
	June, 1921, from Darjeeling to Calcutta.	658	6	6
	September, 1921, from Calcutta to Darjeeling	479	7	0
	September, 1921, from Darjeeling to Calcutta	266	8	3
	October, 1921, from Calcutta to Darjeeling	537	6	0
	October, 1921, from Darjeeling to Calcutta*	.....		
The Hon'ble the Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhuri	May, 1921, from Calcutta to Darjeeling.	515	2	0
	June, 1921, from Darjeeling to Calcutta	606	7	0
	September, 1921, from Purulah to Darjeeling.	150	12	0
	October, 1921, from Darjeeling (Siliguri) to Calcutta	304	2	6

* Not yet adjusted.

Improvement of rural areas and inadequacy of funds at the disposal of district boards.

205. Babu NALINI NATH ROY: (*a*) Is the Hon'ble the Minister in charge of the Department of Local Self-Government aware that the funds of the district boards are inadequate for doing improvement works in the rural areas, such as the construction of roads and tanks, arrangements for medical help, etc.?

(*b*) If so, what action are the Government contemplating taking in the matter?

(*c*) Are the Government considering the desirability of granting money or advancing loans to local bodies for the improvement of rural areas?

The Hon'ble Sir SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA: (*a*) The reply is in the affirmative.

(*b*) There seems no possibility of any considerable increase in the revenue of the district boards except by new taxation. Methods which suggest themselves are—

(1) the removal or increase of the maximum rate of cess now fixed by statute;

(2) the levy of new fees or taxes, *e.g.*, on carts, carriages and motors;

(3) the levy of tolls on new bridges; and

(4) the levy of public health cess, which is another form of alternative (1) above.

The district board conference of 1921 considered alternatives (1) and (4), but were not prepared to accept proposals on these lines. They accepted, however, an alternative (5) for the taxation of non-agricultural classes. Alternative (2) is before the Council in the form of a private resolution. Government are most anxious to increase the revenues of district boards so as to enable them to discharge efficiently their expanding functions, when the Local Self-Government Act comes before the Council for amendment, the possibility of devising some means of new taxation, which do not press too heavily on the agricultural classes must be carefully weighed, but Government are not in a position to state any conclusions at present

(c) Government have for some time past urged on district boards the necessity of financing new capital works, e g., the construction of bridges, buildings and roads from loans, and are prepared to consider sympathetically any applications of this kind which may be made As to grants, Government are contributing in the current year roughly Rs 8 lakhs to district boards in the form of the "augmentation grant" and are at present unable to make any other grant

A Muhammadan candidate for sub-registrarship from the Presidency Division.

206. Raja MANILOLL SINGH ROY: (a) With reference to the answer to clause (c) (iv) of the question No 173 of the July session, asked by Nawabzada K M Afzal, Khan Bahadur, will the Hon'ble the Minister in charge of the Department of Education be pleased to say whether the same Muhammadan candidate was again nominated in the year 1921 by the Commissioner of the Presidency Division?

(b) If so, will the Hon'ble the Minister be pleased to say whether any consideration has been given to his case as promised in his reply to clause (d)?

The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. MITTER: (a) Yes

(b) As the number of appointments had to be reduced, no Muhammadan—on the basis of the proportion of Muhammadan to Hindu population—could be appointed from the Presidency Division, although the total proportion of Muhammadan appointments for the Presidency as a whole was maintained. If further appointments are made in the Registration Department the case of this candidate will be considered along with others.

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